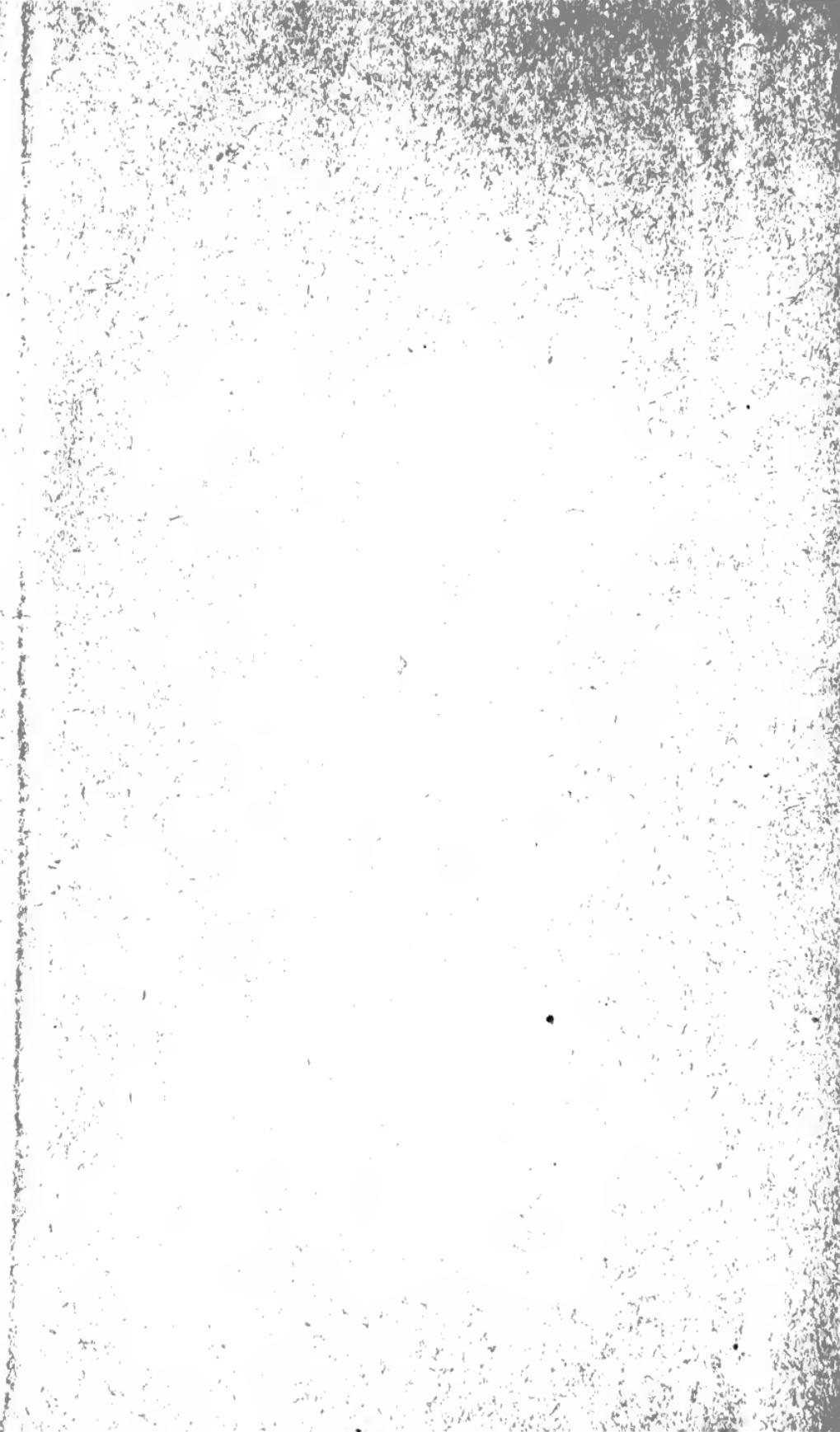


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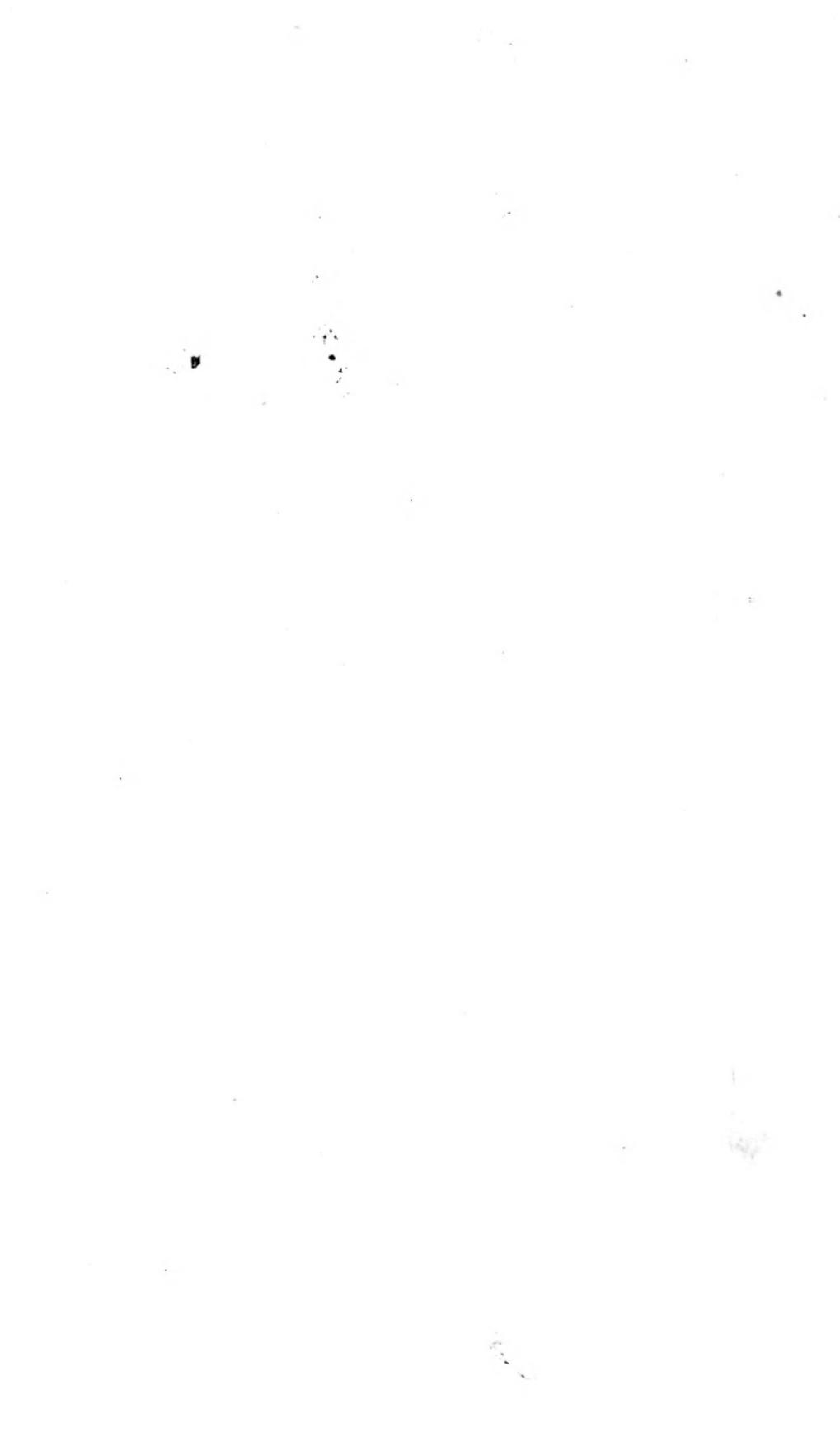
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LIFE

OF

ARTHUR LEE, LL.D.

JOINT COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE COURT OF
FRANCE, AND SOLE COMMISSIONER TO THE COURTS OF SPAIN
AND PRUSSIA, DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

WITH HIS POLITICAL AND LITERARY CORRESPONDENCE AND HIS PAPERS
ON DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL SUBJECTS, AND THE AFFAIRS OF
THE UNITED STATES DURING THE SAME PERIOD.

BY RICHARD HENRY LEE,

A. M., H. A. M.

Author of the Life of RICHARD HENRY LEE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



Boston:

PUBLISHED BY WELLS AND LILLY, COURT STREET.

.....
1829.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT:

District Clerk's Office.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the first day of September, A. D. 1829, in the fifty-fourth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Wells & Lilly, of the said District, have deposited in this Office the Title of a Book, the Right whereof they claim as Proprietors, in the words following, *to wit*:

"Life of Arthur Lee, LL. D. Joint Commissioner of the United States to the Court of France, and Sole Commissioner to the Courts of Spain and Prussia, during the Revolutionary War, with his Political and Literary Correspondence, and his Papers on Diplomatic and Political Subjects, and the Affairs of the United States, during the same Period. By Richard Henry Lee, A. M. H. A. M. Author of the Life of Richard Henry Lee."

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JNO. W. DAVIS,
Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

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LIFE
OF
ARTHUR LEE.

PRUSSIAN PAPERS.

"PARIS, April 19th, 1777.

To his excellency Baron Schulenburg at Berlin.

Sir,—We received the letter which you did us the honour to write to us of the 15th ultimo, and should earlier have replied particularly thereto, but from the daily expectation we had, of receiving orders from the congress of the United States on this important subject. We have their commands to inform his Prussian majesty's ambassador here that they propose to send a minister to your respected court with all convenient expedition, properly empowered to treat upon affairs of importance; and that we are in the mean time instructed and authorised by the congress to solicit the friendship of your court, to request that it would afford no aid to their enemies, but use its good offices to prevent the landing of troops by other powers to be transported to America, for their destruction; and to offer the free commerce of the United States to the subjects of Prussia. We have taken the earliest opportunity of obeying these commands. But consider-

ing the great importance of establishing a free commerce between the two countries as soon as possible, and confident that every objection may be obviated, and the wished for intercourse opened and established on the most certain and beneficial grounds, to promote the interest of both countries ; we propose that one of us shall wait on your excellency as soon as conveniently may be done, to explain personally the situation of America, the nature, extent, and importance of its commerce, and the methods by which it may be carried on with Prussia to mutual advantage. In the proposed interview we are confident the difficulties mentioned by your excellency may be surmounted, and a very considerable part of American commerce be turned to Prussia, by measures neither dangerous nor expensive.

We have the honour to be, &c.

BENJ. FRANKLIN,
S. DEANE,
A. LEE."

" Sir,—I have been informed by the letter which you did me the honour to write me the 8th of this month, that in consequence of the 19th past, which came to me on the part of Mr. Franklin, Deane, and yourself, that you were upon the point of setting off for this place, unless prevented by some unforeseen accident. My answer of the 11th will have shown you sir, that I still fear the difficulties that oppose themselves in the present circumstances of things to establishing a commerce between the king and the colonies of North America ; and that I look upon our conversations upon this subject rather as preliminaries for the time to come, than as negotiations, which may be immediately productive of advantageous consequences.

For this reason sir, I think you need not be uneasy about the delays which retard your journey ; and

that no reproach of neglecting the interests of your constituents can fall upon you, when you are obliged to put off a business the result of which will probably be far distant, to treat of others of more importance and more pressing.

I have the honour to be, &c.

SCHULENBURG.

To Arthur Lee, Esq."

" BERLIN, June 20th, 1777.

Count Schulenburg.

Sir,—I had the honour of receiving your excellency's letter of the 18th, this day. Upon trial I hope the difficulties will not be found so great as your excellency seems to imagine.

When I had the honour of conversing with your excellency I mentioned that the admission of our cruisers into his majesty's ports, to supply themselves with necessaries, carry in and sell their prizes in a secret manner, would be attended with great advantages. It is the only method of establishing a commerce at present from America hither, in the commodities and vessels of the states. For the privateers take in a light cargo from America, which they bring to the ports where they are permitted; this they exchange for necessary supplies and then make a cruise, by the profits of which they are enabled to purchase a cargo of such manufactures as are wanted in America, with which they return.

If I had his majesty's permission to signify that our cruisers would be received in his ports upon this footing as they are in the south, I can have no doubt but that this species of commerce would soon take place; and most assuredly the advantages of it to those ports, and consequently to his majesty's kingdom, would be very considerable. Without such permission our congress will be obliged to send the prizes they make in the northern seas, either to the

south or directly to America, and will have no means of commerce or communication with his majesty's dominions.

In about ten days I propose quitting Berlin on my return, before which I hope to hear from your excellency upon this important subject.

I have the honour of being with the greatest respect your excellency's most humble and most obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

" BERLIN, June 18th, 1777.

Sir,—After having deliberately examined the propositions you had the goodness to address to me, concerning the establishment of a commerce between the states of the king and the English colonies of North America, I agree with you sir, that it is very likely that even paying the highest ensurance, the scarcity and dearness of our goods in America, together with the abundance and low price of your productions, which might be advantageously sold in Europe, would render this commerce very profitable to both parties. It remains only to make a trial, but an almost insurmountable difficulty presents itself, which is, that having never adventured as far as your country we want ships, as well as captains, pilots, and sailors, who could and would be sent into those seas, besides that the vessels that we have are necessary for carrying on the interior commerce of the king's different provinces, and for that which we have with France, Spain, and England; our only resource is then to try if there are any owners of vessels in Holland or Hamburg, who for a convenient freight would undertake to carry our merchandize, and in the second place to find out an ensurance. We shall endeavour to get ourselves well informed on these two points, and if there is a possibility of succeeding in this way after having obviated some other small difficulties, we may

benefit ourselves by the instructions which you have had the goodness to point out to us.

I have the honour to be with most distinguished esteem and respect, sir, &c.

BARON SCHULENBURG.

Mr. Arthur Lee."

" BERLIN, June 28th, 1777.

Dear Sirs,—I have not yet received a line from you. It is not easy to divine the reason of so long a silence. There is for sale here, and deliverable in any port in France, fourteen thousand weight of brass cannon, at six guineas the quintal, and six thousand to be melted down, at five guineas and a half. They are six, twelve, and twenty-four pounders. The expense of freight and ensurance to Nantes or elsewhere will be added to this price. Two days ago, while I was at dinner, my bureau was broke open and some papers stolen out, which were in my porte-feuille. The English envoy happened to be in the hotel where I lodge when I discovered the robbery. Upon being informed that I was gone to the governor, and that the suspicion fell upon one of his servants, he went away in great confusion, and in half an hour the porte-feuille with all the papers were laid down at the door, and the person ran off undiscovered. The examinations that have been taken, charge his servant with having repeatedly told the servants of the hotel that his master would give two thousand ducats for my papers. The landlord who charged his servant with it before him, deposes that he said he would send the servant to answer for himself, but that the servant never appeared. Prince Colberg, who was also present, deposes that he immediately quitted the room in the greatest confusion. The whole is before the king. The return of the papers, and those which he particularly wanted not having been left in the bureau, disappointed him of his ob-

ject, while the whole odium rests upon him. He will do better the next time, and his court will no doubt encourage him. Public ministers have been regarded as spies; Mr. Elliot will give them the additional title of robbers.

I shall leave this on Thursday next, and expect to be at Strasburg in twelve days from thence, so that a letter will meet me there by return of post.

I am, with the greatest esteem, dear sirs, yours, &c.

ARTHUR LEE.

To Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, Esqrs.

Commissioners, Paris."

" JUNE 28th, 1777.

To the Commissioners at Paris.

Dear Sirs,—It is now the 28th, and not a line from you. I cannot divine the reason of so long a silence. There is for sale here, deliverable at any port in France, 414,000 weight of brass cannon, at six guineas the quintal, and 60,000, to be melted down again, at five guineas and a half. They are 6, 12, and 24s. The expense of freight and ensurance to Nantes will be added to this price. The enclosed estimate of clothing you will compare with that you have contracted for, and determine whether it be worth while to order 10,000 suits from hence, which can be furnished in a very short time.

I am dear sirs, &c.

A. LEE.

N. B. The estimate was about 24 francs a suit."

" BERLIN, July 6th, 1777.

To the Commissioners at Paris.

Dear Sirs,—I informed you in my last, of the 28th, of my having been robbed of my papers, and having retrieved them within a few hours. Whether they were read I cannot ascertain, but I think they would never have returned them had they known their contents. My journal book, which was among them, con-

tained all our transactions in France and Spain. You will therefore judge, whether it be proper to guard those courts against any complaints from England. As they have returned the evidence of what they will allege, it may well be treated as a forgery, supposing always they have read it, which I do not believe. I have just learnt that the English envoy has despatched his secretary to London; but whether to guard against the storm he expects his indiscretion will excite from hence, or to give the intelligence he obtained, or both, I know not. I have thought it prudent to wait here some days, to see whether the ill-humour he has excited will furnish a favourable opportunity of obtaining something. I shall leave this place next week, unless some advice from you should stop me. Hitherto I have not been favoured with a single line.

I see in the English papers that cruisers are sent to the Baltic, which I am afraid are against Weeks. Perhaps you will think it proper to change the name of Boux's ship, to embarrass their complaint to the states, should they make any. I enclose you the prices of several articles we want, and which seem to be cheaper here than in France.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

" PARIS, July 29th, 1777.

The Hon'ble Chairman of the Secret Committee,

Sir,—I had the honour of informing the committee of my proceedings at Berlin, in a letter from thence dated the 11th of last month. On my first interview with his excellency Baron Schulenburg, he informed me that upon receiving information of my intending to come to Berlin, he had written to signify the king's resolution not to receive me as a public minister; but that he should be glad to receive any information relative to the proposal of carrying on trade with us.

I urged the example of the civil wars both in England and Holland, during which public ministers were received from them by neutral powers, without its being deemed an infringement of their neutrality; with many other similar instances of great authority. He answered, that his majesty had pledged his honour to the king of Great Britain not to interfere in this dispute, and he was determined not to commit himself. He therefore wished I would confine myself entirely to the subject of trade, as he could not hear any farther propositions.

As I had not been expressly commissioned by congress to the court of Berlin, I thought it not prudent to insist on this point. I therefore gave him what light I could, touching the proper articles of commerce, the best ports in America, and the best means of conducting the trade. I trusted that I should find an opening for going farther, upon better acquaintance and opportunity. Accordingly I ventured in a little time to propose the opening their ports to our cruisers, and to allow the sale of their prizes. I was assured, in answer to this proposition, that they would enquire upon what footing this was done in France and Spain, and inform me whether the same could be admitted in their ports.

While I was at dinner one day, some person contrived to get into my chamber, which was locked, and to break open my desk, from whence he took all my papers. I soon discovered the robbery, and alarming the police, the English envoy, who happened to be on a visit in the hotel when the alarm was given, immediately went home, and in a few minutes the papers were all returned, apparently unopened. The envoy went to the king next day to excuse himself, but was not admitted. It appeared upon examination, that his servants had frequently offered a large sum to the servants of the house, if they would steal my papers. But as I never went out of my room upon the most

trifling occasion without locking them up, they were obliged to have recourse to violence. The resentment of every one at so outrageous an act, was soon lost in the contempt of the envoy's folly in returning what he had incurred so much odium in acquiring. The minister of state told me they could do nothing more than insist on his recall, which he imagined the envoy, considering the unfavourable light in which this action had placed him, would ask himself.

I thought this a favourable opportunity of pressing for aid from the king, in artillery, arms, and money; of which last I was well informed he had a considerable sum in his treasury. But I could obtain nothing but assurances of his desire to serve us, if it were in his power. Upon my taking leave, the baron Schulenburg delivered me a message from his majesty, desiring me to assure my constituents, that nothing would give him more pleasure than to hear of their success, and that he wished whatever good news I received might be communicated to him.

I did not omit to press his interposition, relative to German and Prussian auxiliaries. In answer to this, the minister assured me that we had no reason to apprehend any thing, either from the one or the other in future.

What I have collected from various sources on the subject is this. The German princes, who have hired their troops, besides having rendered themselves extremely odious, have suffered greatly and are still suffering by the emigration of their subjects, for fear of being forced into this service, which is excessively unpopular and odious through all Germany. Under these circumstances, those princes are neither much inclined nor at all able to furnish new supplies. The recruits already sent were furnished by their utmost exertions, and in all probability will be their last.

The situation of the empress of Russia is not more

favourable. She is under a constant alarm for the internal quiet of her kingdom, in which there are every where the seeds of great and dangerous discontents. A considerable force is required to preserve the acquisitions she has made in Poland. The peace with the Porte is an armed truce, which threatens to break out into action every moment. The first and most sacred principle of the Mahometan religion is, the union of all mussulmans. The dividing Crimea from them is for this reason a mortal wound to their religious opinions, and renders the late peace universally odious. Perpetual obstacles are therefore raised to the execution of it, and the Turks are openly preparing to avenge their late defeats. So circumstanced, it is certain the empress is herself in great need of assistance, instead of being in a condition to give it ; which, were she able, it is conceived she would never stoop to do, as a subsidiary of Great Britain, in such a contest, and in such company as the little German princes.

What is a farther security against their future efforts, is the deficiency of funds on the part of our enemies. I found their credit in Germany had been at no time lower than it is now. We have good intelligence from Holland of its falling there apace. In England men every day ruminate more deeply on the dark and ruinous prospect before them, and most assuredly their credit there is already stretched to its utmost. All this may be well conceived, from the light in which this contest was always viewed. In England it was regarded as unwise; in every other part of Europe, as unwise and unjust. Nothing but the most brilliant and immediate success could have prevented the consequences of these opinions. That has not happened, and therefore they now begin to experience the bitter effects of their folly and injustice.

Every day confirms me more and more in the opinion, that our enemies cannot continue the war another campaign with any effect ; and that the acknowl-

edgment of your independency will be a serious subject of deliberation among the powers of Europe the ensuing winter.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

" PARIS, Sept. 9th, 1777.

The Hon'ble Chairman of the Secret Committee,

Sir,—I have not heard from Berlin relative to their determination about opening their ports to our cruisers.

The abbé Raynal, who is just returned from a tour in England, tells me that nothing disgusts the English nation so much with the continuance of the war, as the seeing their ports filled with French ships, to carry on their commerce with other nations. Their merchants are obliged to have recourse to this expedient to screen their merchandise. I say *screen*, because they cannot expect that, according to the law of nations, it will be a protection when discovered. They have been driven to this necessity by the number and success of your cruisers in and about the channel, which has raised ensurance so high, that their manufactures are in danger of being augmented thereby in their price, too much for the European markets.

I thought it would be useful to inform you of these facts, to show the utility of continuing and encouraging cruisers in these seas, as they will perhaps be so discouraged by the late measures in this country, (which I trust will not be of long continuance) as to confine their course to the American seas.

I have the honour, &c.

ARTHUR LEE."

" BERLIN, Nov. 6th, 1777.

Sir,—The king was surprised to learn from the letter which you did me the honour to write me the 23d ult. that you had received no news from America, while the public papers are filled with many different accounts, principally upon the descent of Gen. Howe on the Chesapeake, and the check which Gen. Burgoyne is said to have received from the American general Arnold. As I am persuaded his majesty will receive with pleasure a confirmation of the last article, in consequence of the interest he takes in the events favourable to your cause, you will oblige me much sir, by communicating to me authentic accounts on this subject the moment you receive them; as it is extremely difficult to distinguish the truth of relations dictated for the most part by the spirit of party.

As to the re-inforcement of troops which Great Britain may expect from the other powers of Europe for the ensuing campaign, I can assure you sir, that your nation has nothing to fear from Russia, nor from Denmark, and that even Germany will furnish but a few hundreds of men, which the Duke of Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Margrave of Anspach, cannot avoid sending, to fill up the corps which by treaty they are obliged to keep up in America, under British pay. It is with sincere pleasure sir, that I give you this agreeable information, having the honour to be with distinguished consideration, &c.

BARON SCHULENBURG.

Mr. Arthur Lee, Paris."

" PARIS, Jan. 5th, 1778.

Gentlemen,—My despatches by Capt. Young, and since by Mr. Deane, jr., will have informed you of whatever has happened worthy of your attention in the departments of Spain and Prussia. The latter is now resigned to the care of the commissioner appointed to it, who will inform congress (as he is in-

structed) of the assurances from Baron Schulenburg, secretary of state to the king of Prussia, that his master will not be the last to acknowledge your independency. This may show you the favourable disposition of that monarch, who I believe waits only for the example of this court, which I trust will not be long delayed. I have received a complaint from St. Sebastian of the sailors, who carried in a prize there made by an American privateer, having been imprisoned, and the prize seized. This passed previous to the arrival of the news of Burgoyne's surrender, and Gen. Washington's having given battle to the British army. As this news has made a strong sensation in our favour, I am in hopes the representations I have made will not only relieve them, but prevent any violence of this kind in future. It would seem that the court of Spain will not enter into any negotiation till we have concluded the business here. But I shall hold myself ready to execute that duty, in obedience to the commands of congress, the moment it is permitted. I expect every day to hear that the blankets and stockings I ordered from Bilboa are shipped. The enclosed letter will show the sincerity of those professions I had the honour of receiving from his Prussian majesty; and as he is in great esteem with the empress of Russia, I think we may be satisfied that he will use all his influence to prevent our enemies from succeeding in their solicitations with her. I have no reason to alter my opinion of the malignant obstinacy with which our enemies are determined to pursue the war. The ill success has produced a disinclination in the public to persevere, which gives them some alarm. I have secret but sure information, that in order to conquer this reluctance by the hope of a speedy end to the war, they mean very soon to lay before parliament a plan of accommodation. Under the delusion of this hope, they expect to pass easily over the enquiry into the state of the

nation, and to have its force continued another year under their direction. Mr. Stephenson, who will have the honour of delivering you this, was a merchant in Bristol, whom I have long known to be zealously attached to the cause of his country.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ARTHUR LEE.

To the Corresponding Committee."

The British court are greatly alarmed about Canada, for the defence of which they are informed 8000 men at least are necessary. I hardly think it will be possible for them to procure any thing like that number. The refusal of a passage by the king of Prussia will embarrass and impede their German supplies as stipulated, and I have good intelligence that it was done with the approbation of the emperor, and that he will use his influence to prevent future supplies.

Sir,—In answer to the letter which you did me the honour to write me of the 28th of December, of the former year, I must begin by remarking to you sir, that before that last I had received two letters from you, viz. one of the 4th and another of the —— of the same month ; but as you assure me that you had wrote twice since the 4th of December, that expression of some doubt whether or not the letter of the 4th is comprehended in the two you mention, makes me think one of your letters has miscarried ; as to myself sir, after my letter of the 4th of December, the receipt of which you have acknowledged, I have made you two answers, one of the 18th, and another of the 23d, both of which I hope have come to hand. I address this as you desire to Mr. Grand, banker, Montmartyr-street, and that we may guard against our letters being any of them lost for the future, I would propose to you sir to number yours, as I shall do, beginning with this.

The reflections you make upon the present situation of affairs are most just ; and indeed Gen. Howe's situation appears very embarrassing. We must see how he will extricate himself, or if he will not at least take and keep his posts with more prudence than he did last year. As the events of this war become every day more interesting, I again pray you sir to communicate to me regularly all the news you may receive. The king seems much interested in it. His majesty wishes that your efforts may be crowned with success, and as I have told you in mine of the 13th of Dec. *he will not hesitate to acknowledge your independency as soon as France, which is more immediately interested in the issue of this contest, shall set the example.* His majesty would make no difficulty in receiving your ships into his ports if it were not that he has no fleet to revenge the insults that may be offered to your ships. The port of Embden, however safe and convenient it may otherwise be, not having even a fort for its defence, his majesty would not wish to put himself in so disagreeable a situation. As to the guns and other arms of our manufacture, you are at liberty sir, either to buy or order ; and the splitt. gerbers, bankers and undertakers of the manufactory of arms, have instructions to deliver you as many as you want. I subjoin a note of the prices, which are the same that the king pays, and as to the infantry muskets, they may be procured at a low price, if solidity of workmanship is more desirable, rather than that exactness which the king requires.

I have the honour to be with distinguished consideration sir, &c.

BARON SCHULENBURG."

Mr. Arthur Lee, Paris."

" 2nd February 1778.

To his excellency Baron Schulenburg.

I was honoured with yours of the 16th of January, some few days since, and have delayed an answer in hopes that despatches from America would have enabled me to give your excellency some acceptable intelligence. But in this I am disappointed, so that we have nothing but the relations of the enemy to direct our judgment of the present situation of things in and near Philadelphia. There is one thing however that must strike your excellency in Gen. Howe's narration, which is, that in attempting to make his forward movement he is constantly attacked instead of attacking ; and however well he might have defended himself, was obliged to measure back his ground, and put his army into winter quarters. His tranquillity or even safety there will depend much upon the mildness of the winter and the equipment of the army of the United States for a campaign in that rigorous season. If the winter is severe and Gen. Washington's army tolerably provided, it seems to me that Gen. Howe's situation will be far from that of security.

Congress have approved of the convention with Gen. Burgoyne, the terms of which I am very much mistaken if the British government do not violate. The enemy is driven entirely back into Canada, after blowing up the works of Ticonderoga, and New-York is pressed on all sides.

The 4th and the 11th were the letters I referred to, and I have had the honour of receiving those your excellency mentions.

I hope the period for executing his majesty's most gracious purpose towards us is not remote ; as well as that of the reduction of the British power within the limits of due respect for other powers.

I thank your excellency a thousand times for the facilities you have procured us, in the supplying ourselves with arms. But I find things must be more arranged before we can avail ourselves of your goodness.

The enemy's preparations are more sounding than substantial. They mark a radical weakness; and will certainly be impotent when we are fortified with alliances.

I have the honour to be with great respect,
ARTHUR LEE."

" PARIS, Dec. 25th, 1778.

To his excellency Baron Schulenburg.

I had the honour of receiving your excellency's favour of the 1st. I am extremely sorry for having troubled you with a representation which seems to have given offence instead of obtaining redress. The character of a merchant nor that of all the merchants in Europe can weigh against the evidence of one's senses. I do assure your excellency upon my honour that the musket which is the specimen of those sent for the best Prussian arms, and which have cost me five livres a piece more than the best arms in France, is one of the worst that I ever beheld. I have seen most of the troops in Europe, and I never saw such a musket in a soldier's hand. It has this remarkable trait, that it is neither of the old nor of the new model; but seems to have been a barrel spoilt in attempting to new model it, and this put into a stock of such wood and of such fashion as cannot be imagined worse. There is no mark of its having been examined, upon it. In short a mistake between the new and the old model is out of the question.

But your excellency will give me leave to observe that if my demand was not explicit, it is a little sur-

prizing that the house of —— in the correspondence that passed between them and myself before the order was executed, did not ask an explanation whether the old or the new model was meant. They knew, though we did not, that there were different kinds of arms of the Prussian make, and therefore that a mistake might happen. As to myself, I had seen the troops at Berlin, and the arsenal furnished with arms of the new model. I had conversed with sundry officers upon the preference due to arms of the Prussian make, and never found any one who by that term did not understand those of the new model. Not knowing therefore that there was any possibility of mistake I did not conceive I could be more explicit. Upon the whole, instead of the best arms in Europe which I promised, I have sent the worst, if the rest are like the specimen sent me. It is not from any doubt of the justice of his majesty's courts that I shall not trouble them with this business. In my situation it is obviously impossible to pursue it in that way. I hope your excellency will pardon me for having given you the pain of reading one letter on the subject, and I should not have added a second, but that there was a sort of censure thrown upon me, which I most assuredly did not deserve. I should have thought myself censurable if I had concealed from your excellency a proceeding on the part of those gentlemen which appeared so flagrant to me. You thought I was alone to blame, in which I cannot in any degree whatsoever concur. I have the honour of enclosing to your excellency a copy of a manifesto, to which the avowedly savage intentions of our enemies have compelled congress. The previous resolution will show your excellency with what reluctance congress has adopted retaliation. As long as it was possible to impute the barbarities committed to the unauthorized malignity of individuals, they exhorted forbearance. But when a solemn avowal on

the part of his Britannic majesty's commissioners, of their determination to exercise the extremes of war, and to desolate for the sole purpose of destroying, had deprived them of the apology they had too generously made for the actions of their enemies ; their duty to the people, to humanity, to nations, called from congress this resolution of retaliation. This conduct of our enemies will, like all their other follies and persecutions knit more firmly our confederation. The inhuman purpose of massacre and desolation upon a pretext of our being mortgaged to France, which the very treaty to which they allude expressly contradicts, has armed every hand and heart against them : it has confirmed the wavering, animated the timid, and exasperated the brave. The laws of nations are the common property of all civilized people. A deliberate determination on the part of Great Britain to violate them and recall the practices of barbarians, should render that nation abhorred through all Europe. Our liberties, which *were* the object of the war, are secure ; we are *now* fighting the battles of humanity and of nations against the avowed and bitter enemies of both.

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect
your excellency's obedient servant,

A. LEE."

APPENDIX VI.

Letters from Mr. Arthur Lee to the Committee of Correspondence of Congress
on Foreign Affairs.

“ NANTES, Feb. 14th, 1777.

Secret committee.

Gentlemen,—The enclosed book is esteemed a work of genius, and as such I have thought it proper to be sent to you. We were acquainted with the author in Paris, who is a man of very high character, and so strongly our friend that I have no doubt that if the want of his second volume, which is not yet published, should render any explanation necessary, he will give it with pleasure.

Since I had the honour of writing yesterday, Mr. Thomas Morris has informed me of the agreement he has just concluded with the Farmers General for all the tobacco which shall arrive here on your account, at seventy livres a hundred. It was probably in contemplation of this that they refused to sign the treaty with us, after they had pledged their word for it. Our object was to interest government here through them in our commerce so much as to secure their utmost protection of it; to ensure the export of our produce, which we apprehended the scarcity of shipping and sailors would render impracticable in our own bottoms, and to command a considerable advance of ready money for a full supply of arms, ammunition, rigging, &c. which we might convey with more certainty under their protection. To compass these objects we were induced to offer them such tempting terms. The price they have now agreed to give is certainly a good one, but I fear it will not relieve us

from our difficulties, as there is no advance stipulated, and the difficulty of exportation seems to increase daily.

Our last intelligence from England informs us that a bill is now passing for granting letters of marque against you, or rather for repealing so much of their former act as confined it to the navy. The press there, still continues very violent, but not equally productive ; that, together with the great preparation of France and Spain, seems to render the continuance of peace for many months, impossible. From every thing that I can learn, their armaments against you will be very late, if the situation of Europe will suffer them at all. But it is best to prepare for their plan as if it would be executed in its fullest extent, for it is impossible to have such reliance on the politics of Europe, as would justify the hazarding much upon the issue. I believe you have not yet been apprized of what it may be material to you to know, which is that the British government offered to deliver the prisoners taken on Long Island to the East India Company, to be sent to their settlements, if the company would send for them to Gibraltar. This proposition is upon record in the company's books, a general court having been held expressly upon it. Compared with other things it may possibly serve to show their good faith ; and it is itself a sufficient evidence of their merciless and tyrannical disposition towards us.

I am with great respect,

A. LEE."

" PARIS, Oct. 6th, 1777.

To the chairman of the committee of foreign affairs.

Gentlemen,—By the Benjamin, from Berlin on the 11th of June, and from this place on the 29th of July, I had the honour of informing you at large of

my proceedings at Berlin. Not having received an answer from that court, relative to the reception of our cruisers and their prizes in Prussian ports, I have written lately to press for one which I hope will be favourable, as I left so friendly a disposition there, that I was desired to communicate his majesty's warmest wishes for our success. I mentioned too the improbability of our enemies' drawing assistance from Russia, for the next campaign, and how much their resources were exhausted in Germany.

By Capt. Young I received the commands of congress in their commission to me for the court of Spain. As Dr. F. had announced his appointment, with an assurance of his readiness to repair to Madrid as soon as that court thought proper to receive him, I conceived it unnecessary to apprise them of the new appointment, till we are informed of their intention to receive a commissioner. During my absence in Germany, a letter was received from Mr. Gardoqui, of Bilboa, intimating an expectation of returns from you, for what was transmitted to you through his house. But upon an application to his court, *I am again authorised to assure you that for the supplies already sent no return was expected*; but that in future remittances of American produce must be made for supplies through the house of Gardoqui. It is impracticable to bring them to such an explanation as to know with certainty whether they mean this in earnest, or only as a cover, should the transaction transpire. I am inclined to think it the latter. However, I wrote to Mr. Gardoqui, in consequence of it, as follows. "We are now to begin on a new footing, and I shall take care that my constituents be informed that for all the aids they receive hereafter from your quarter they are to make returns in tobacco, pitch, tar, &c. to your house. I beg to know by your next whether the same arrangement is to take place for the future,

with regard to the depositories at the Havannah and New-Orleans, or whether nothing farther is to be transmitted through those channels, that if so, the trouble of sending thither, and the disappointment may be prevented. As the winter's campaign is approaching fast, in which blankets are of the greatest utility, I wish you to send as many of them as possible."

Upon this subject of returns I think it my duty to state to you some facts relative to the demands of this kind from Hortalæz. The gentleman who uses this name came to me, *about a year and a half ago in London, as an agent from this court*, and wishing to communicate something to congress. At our first interview he informed me that the court of France wished to send an aid to America of £200,000 sterling in specie, arms, and ammunition, and that all they wanted was to know through which island it was best to make the remittance, and that congress should be apprized of it. We settled the Cape as the place, and he urged me by no means to omit giving the earliest intelligence of it, with information that it would be remitted in the name of Hortalæz. At our next meeting he desired me to request that a small quantity of tobacco or some other production might be sent to the Cape, to give it the air of a mercantile transaction, *repeating over and over again, that it was for a cover only, and not for payment, as the remittance was gratuitous*. Of all this I informed Dr. F.* by sundry opportunities. At the same time I stated to Mons. Hortalæz that if his court would despatch eight or ten ships of the line to our aid it would enable us to destroy all the British fleet, and decide the question at one stroke. I repeated this to him in a letter after his return to Paris, to which the answer was, that there was not spirit enough in his court for such an exertion, but that he was hastening the promised

* As chairman of the secret committee.

succours. Upon Mr. Deane's arrival the business went into his hands, and the aids were at length embarked in the Amphitrite, Mercure, and Seine.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ARTHUR LEE."

" PARIS, Nov. 30th, 1777.

To the chairman of the committee for foreign correspondence.

Sir,—Since the enclosed, I received a letter from the king of Prussia's minister, to inform me that his majesty cannot at present open his ports to American armed vessels, for the sale of prizes, as he finds it is not permitted in France. I have informed the minister of the late appointment by congress to his court, and do not think it improbable but that the king will in a little time be prevailed upon to wink at the above measure being executed, though he will not openly approve of it till an arrangement is made for acknowledging our independency. This will probably come under serious consideration before the winter ends, if Gen. Howe should not be successful.

The last letter I received from the Prussian minister contains the following paragraph: " Berlin, Nov.— "Quant aux renforts de troupes que la grande Bretagne pourroit recevoir des autres puissances de l'Europe, pour la campagne prochaine, je puis vous assurer, Mons. que votre nation n'a rien à craindre, ni de la Russie, ni du Dannemarc ; et que même l'Allemagne ne fournira que quelques certaines d'hommes que le Duc de Brunswick, le Langrave de Hesse, et le Margrave d'Anspach, en conformité de leur traités ne saurient se dispenser d'envoyer annuellement pour la recrue des corps de troupes que ses Princes tiennent en Amerique à la solde de l'Angleterre. C'est avec satisfaction sincere, Mons. que je vous donne cet avis consolant."

Our friends in Spain have been prevailed upon to

renew the order for sending you supplies. But before any thing was done, a suspension of it was occasioned by an American privateer making prize of a French ship coming from England with Spanish property on board. Proper measures have been taken to explain this proceeding so as to appease the complaints it excited, and I have reason to hope that we shall soon see the former good will towards us restored with farther proofs of its sincerity.

I have mentioned the little probability our enemies have of obtaining troops for another campaign. Nor will their difficulties be less in raising supplies. Their credit falls so fast in Europe, that unless the most brilliant and effectual success of this campaign should retrieve it, by rendering the conquest of America probable, they cannot sustain another. *Stat magni nominis umbra* may almost already be said of Great Britain, and the decisive weight, a weight derived from her connexion with America, in the balance of Europe which she has long held, will assuredly fail with the failure of this year's expectations.

It is with pleasure I inform you that the conduct of your generals, and the bravery of your troops and seamen, have entirely effaced through Europe the unfavourable impressions made at first by the scandalous reports of our enemies. At the same time there is a great desire to have authentic accounts from us, which unhappily we are not able to gratify, having received no despatches since the retreat of the British army from the Jerseys. I have imputed it to the chances of the sea, and of war, and to the arduous attention of congress to the arrangement and defence of a young government, pressed on all sides by a powerful enemy. The king of Prussia is particularly anxious on this subject, as you will judge by the following extract from his minister's letter. (Here follows an extract in French, in which the Prussian minister informs Mr. Lee of the desire of the king to

receive the earliest authentic information concerning the affairs of the United States, and of the events of the war.)

I enclose you the king of Great Britain's speech, with remarks on it by a friend who was present. My private letters say, the ministry are exceedingly dispirited. The following is a picture of the public, drawn by an able hand and in a high station. "This poor country has fallen into a state of lethargy, from which all efforts to rouse her seem ineffectual. The single loss of Minorca drove the people of England almost to madness; now thirteen provinces dismembered from the British empire scarcely excite a murmur, except among a very few, who dare to love their country even at this disgraceful period."* The parliamentary campaign will soon open, but nothing is to be expected. Corruption has spread like a low-born mist, a Scottish mist, and pervades every thing. It is certain that France and Spain are arming with uncommon diligence, and to a great extent. The states of Holland have ordered ten men of war as a convoy for their West India trade, and will not permit any interruption of it by our enemies.

Yet with these circumstances to oppose it, the impracticability of obtaining an adequate number of troops, the lowness of their credit, the probability of an European war, the carrying on of their commerce by ships of their rivals, to every common understanding the impossibility of success, and (I may add with certainty) their own conviction of it, I am clear in my opinion that they will attempt another campaign; every man and every shilling they can procure, will be devoted to the desolation of our country.

The privateer which gave so much offence by taking a French ship, *La Fortune*, with Spanish property on board, is called the Civil Usage. Since that, the Portsmouth privateer, from Portsmouth, Capt. Hart, has taken an English merchantman in the mouth of

* Lord Chatham.

the Garonne. Those captures have given great offence to the two courts; to remove which we have promised to warn all American captains to desist from such conduct, till the pleasure of congress is known. The following is a copy of the letter I have sent to the different ports of Spain for that purpose.

“To the captains and commanders of all ships of war, armed vessels and privateers, from the United States of North America.

PARIS, Dec. 8th, 1777.

Gentlemen,—Complaints having been made of violence done by American armed ships to neutral nations, in seizing ships belonging to their subjects and under their colours; and in making captures of enemy’s vessels under the protection of their coast, contrary to the usage and custom of nations. This is therefore to request and warn you not to commit any such violation of the laws of nations, but that (according to the powers given by your commission) you will confine yourselves to the capture of the enemy’s vessels, when not within the protection of neutral ports, rivers, or coasts, and of all others that are carrying soldiers, arms, gunpowder, ammunition, provisions, and other contraband goods, to any of the British armies, or ships employed against the United States; you will respect the rights of neutrals, from which you expect protection, and treat all neutral ships with the utmost kindness and friendship, for the honour of yourselves and of your country.

ARTHUR LEE.

There remains nothing for me to add at present, but to assure you that I have neglected no opportunity of writing to you, and giving a full account of my proceedings in Spain and Prussia.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect respect, &c.

ARTHUR LEE.”

“To the Chairman of the Committee for Foreign Correspondence.

“PARIS, Dec. 8th, 1777.

Since my last to you I have seen your despatches of the 6th of Oct. The answer relative to the *Havannah* will be obtained as soon as possible; but I think such a connexion will in a short time take place between the two countries, as will put that matter out of all doubt. I received yesterday a letter from the Messrs. Gardoqui, at Bilboa, containing the following passage. ‘Our worthy friend, Elbridge Gerry, Esq., thinking that the goods shipped per Capt. Hodges to his address were on his account, he wrote us, that he would place the amount thereof to our credit; but as we have answered him, that this remittance as well as the rest that followed through the same channel were on account of congress, and of consequence out of our power, as he will have seen by the sundry letters wrote to him since, doubt not that he will of consequence conform thereto; and we assure you, that in future all possible means will be used to prevent mistakes of this kind.’

By a letter from Holland we are assured, that the king of Prussia had announced to the states his having refused a passage through his territories to German troops hired by Great Britain. The West India fleet from Amsterdam, &c. is to be convoyed by six men of war. I cannot be more explicit, than to assure you, that the prospect of our enemies is as gloomy here as with you, and that I am not mistaken in what I formerly wrote you, that the confirming our independency would be matter of serious consideration among the powers of Europe this winter.

I have remitted Mr. Gardoqui money for ten thousand blankets, which he promises to send with all possible expedition.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ARTHUR LEE.”

"PARIS, Dec. 19th, 1777.

To the Committee.

Our joint despatches will inform you of the forwardness in which things are here towards the desired conclusion. In three weeks we shall hear from Spain, and all will I hope be settled. The late intelligence from America has staggered and confounded our enemies, as much as it has elated and decided our friends. Should they at length resolve to continue in rage and despair what they commenced in wickedness and folly, and venture upon a general war by which they must be overwhelmed, their principal efforts will be pointed against us, unless your being in a respectable state of preparation should deter them. In that case they will probably confine themselves to a piratical coasting war, and preying upon our commerce. I have directed all the naval stores that are collected at Bilboa to be shipped forthwith, the moment the court of Spain agrees to furnish the money. To accelerate this material supply, I proposed to my colleagues to remit the money from our funds here, but they did not think it advisable.

Should congress want any person to serve them in a public character in Europe, I am authorised to say that Edmund Jennings, Esq., now in London, will obey their commands. His abilities, attachment, and respectable character are well known. It has also fallen very particularly within my knowledge, that Mr. Thomas Digges, of Maryland, has exerted himself with great assiduity and address in gaining intelligence and doing other services in England.

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, Feb. 10th, 1778.

To the Committee of Foreign Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—The enclosed memorial and letter to Count Florida Blanca will inform you particularly of

my proceedings in Spain, with the reasons of the cautious conduct of that court, which I did not think it safe to communicate at the time. France is now preparing. The war with Portugal is happily concluded, by her accession to the family compact, and there remains only the hazard of the treasure at sea, which is expected in April next. When that arrives, I have no doubt of their acceding to the treaties signed here, and joining in the war which it seems probable will be declared before that time between France and England. From the enclosed accounts you will also see what has been sent from the house of Gardoqui in pursuance of orders from the Spanish court, and what by my order, which I am to pay for out of the fund remitted me from Spain of 170,000 livres. This fund would have been applied in time to have had the blankets, &c. with you for the winter campaign, but for the following reason. On my return from Germany, in August, I found from various expensive purchases not only all our funds from our friends here had been exhausted, but we were also involved in a considerable debt, and not half of our orders fulfilled, nor any fund to answer your draught. It was therefore thought prudent to retain that sum, until we were sure of an additional supply from hence. The moment this was secured, I sent orders for the shipping of blankets and stockings, which are certainly cheap, and I hope will be of use. Upon this mercantile subject I must beg leave to observe, that I have had nothing more to do with the proceedings of that kind here, but signing my name to contracts made by my colleagues, or rather by Mr. Deane. You will, I presume, be able to judge, by the manner in which near five millions of livres have been expended, whether it is wise to unite the political and commercial characters. I am given to understand, that Spain will wish to have the possession of Pensacola secured to them in the treaty. I shall hope to re-

ceive the commands of congress upon that point as soon as possible. Perhaps congress may think that circumstances are materially changed, since the passing the resolve on this subject the 30th December 1776 ; and that the Mississippi is likely to be the only permanent boundary between the two people. My last letter from the king of Prussia's secretary of state, dated the 16th of January, says, (Here follows a long extract from the letter in French, the substance of which is, that "His Prussian majesty wished that success might attend the generous efforts of congress (*genereux efforts*) in effecting their independence; that he could not consider the question of acknowledging the sovereignty of the United States until France had given the example; and that he yet felt a difficulty in admitting their armed vessels into his ports," &c.)

It is from exceeding good intelligence I assure you, that the finances and forces of our enemies are greatly exhausted, and that their means of continuing the war are in no manner equal to their threats and their enmity.

I beg the favour of having my duty recommended to congress; and have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

"PASSEY, Feb. 16th, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—We have now the pleasure of sending you the treaties of amity and alliance with France, completed after long deliberation, and signed the 6th inst. This is an event which will give our states such an appearance of stability, as must strengthen our credit, encourage other powers in Europe to ally themselves with us, weaken the hopes of our internal as well as external enemies, fortify our friends, and

be in many other respects so advantageous to us, that we congratulate you upon it most heartily. And we flatter ourselves that the congress will approve of the terms, and despatch the ratification as soon as possible. It is understood, that Spain is shortly to accede to the same treaties. We have in ours of Dec. 18th mentioned the reasons of her delay, which still subsists, but will probably not subsist much longer. These treaties continue a secret here, and may do so till the commencement of the war, which is daily expected. Our little fleet formerly mentioned, which has been long watched and detained in Nantes river by the English cruising off Bellisle, is now on the point of sailing under the convoy of a French squadron. As the English are pretty strong in the Bay, it is probable that their attack and the French defence of our ships, may be the prelude of a declaration on both sides.

Having received part of the 3,000,000 livres, we formerly mentioned to you, we have furnished Mr. W. Lee and Mr. Izard with 2000 guineas each for the expenses of your missions to Germany and Italy. And as we have received intimations from Holland that the appearance of one of us there might at this juncture have good effects, we have resumed the purpose formerly communicated to you, and as soon as our treaty with France is known and the winter over, probably either Mr. Deane or Mr. Franklin will make a journey thither. But as we apprehend it may be known here by some means or other that we furnish the expense of these embassies out of the aids received from this court, which we think not reputable to your congress, we must again press you to make us the necessary remittances to replace what we have borrowed from the funds destined for your supplies. And particularly we pray most earnestly that you would forward as soon as possible, the 5000 hhds. of tobacco for the Farmers General, who will soon be in

want of it, and who long since obtained us a million for your use. Our honour is concerned in the fulfilling of this contract.

The seizing and delivering up to the English (two) prizes taken by Capt. Batson, on account of their being illegally entered, under a false declaration, made a good deal of noise among our people in the ports, and gave unfavourable impressions of the friendship of the court, which possibly may extend to America ; we think it therefore necessary to inform you that though the confiscation of these prizes on the above account, is said to be agreeable to the laws here, and that the king after a condemnation had the power of disposing of the produce for what purpose, political or otherwise, he might think proper ; and accordingly he restored it, at that juncture, perhaps usefully, to the English claimants, yet, as it is thought a hard case with respect to the captors, a beginning is made of indemnification, and we hope on the same principles on which we are to receive soon a part, 50,000 francs, we shall be able in time to recover the whole.

We have, to avoid disputes at this particular time, delivered up the cargo brought by the Amphitrite to Mr. Beaumarchais. We hear he has sent over a person to demand a great sum of you, on account of arms, ammunition, &c. We think it will be best for you to leave that demand to be settled by us here, as there is a mixture in it of public and private concern, which you cannot so well develope.

We send you herewith a great many newspapers ; you will see Lord North's only answer to our application about the prisoners ; as, also, the success of a subscription set on foot in England by our friends, for their relief. They are at present pretty comfortably provided for.

By our late advices from England, the ministers begin to be alarmed for their country, and perhaps for

themselves. Some of their emissaries have been here to sound us, and endeavour to get from some of us propositions on which to found a treaty; which we evaded, giving as a reason, our not being empowered to make any; and apprehending withal that even reasonable ones proposed by us might be used improperly by the ministry to exasperate, instead of conciliating; the pride of the nation choosing *still* to consider us as subjects. Many of the speakers in parliament of both sides seem to look upon a French war at this juncture, when so much of their force is abroad, and their public credit so shaken, as immediate ruin. And we are assured by the last post, from good authority, that even Lord Mansfield, who in the beginning of this business was so valiant, spoke lately in private to Lord Cambden, of the absolute necessity of an immediate coalition of parties, to prevent the great impending danger to the nation, from an alliance between the house of Bourbon and the Americans, which he said he had good information was on the point of being concluded.

We have the honour of being with the highest esteem gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servants,

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
SILAS DEANE,
ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, Feb. 28th, 1778.

To the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—Our joint despatches of Dec. 28th, 1777, informed you that Spain had promised us three millions of livres, to be remitted to you in specie through the Havannah. This information we had through the French court. We have since been informed through the same channel that it would be

paid to our banker here in quarterly payments. Of this I apprised you in my letter of the — of January, 1778. Finding however that no payment was made, I applied lately to the Spanish ambassador here for an explanation. From him I learnt that by order of his court he had informed the court of France that such a sum should be furnished for your use, but in what manner he was not instructed, nor had he received any farther communication on the subject. He promised to transmit my application to his court without delay.

The balancing conduct which these courts have until very lately held towards us, has involved us inevitably in continual contradictions and disappointments. It is in this respect fortunate that so many of our despatches have miscarried, otherwise you would have been equally vexed, embarrassed, and disappointed. The chief reason that induced Spain to temporize, subsists still, except the war with Portugal, which is happily concluded by her accession to the family compact. Our general despatches will convey to you the bills, as they are now passing in the parliament of Great Britain, for appointing commissioners to negotiate with *their deluded subjects, and declaring in what manner they will be graciously pleased to exercise in future their right of taxing us.* It would not be doing justice to their bills to attempt any comment upon them. They assert for themselves, and loudly too. But the ministers of England give out that they have despatched half a million of guineas, to pave the way to a favourable reception of their propositions, and I know from the best authority here that they have assured Count Maurepas of their being *sure of a majority in congress.* By such base arts do they endeavour to cover their nakedness, and sustain their desperate cause. France has done us substantial benefits, Great Britain, substantial injuries. France offers to guaranty our sove-

reignty and universal freedom of commerce ; Great Britain condescends to accept of our submission, and to monopolize our commerce. France demands of us to be independent, Great Britain, tributary. I do not comprehend how there can be a mind so debased or an understanding so perverted as to balance between them.

The journeys I have made both north and south in the public service have given me an opportunity of knowing the general disposition of Europe upon our question. There never was one in which the harmony of opinion was so universal. From the prince to the peasant there is but one voice, one wish ; the liberty of America, and the humiliation of Great Britain.

The apprehension of troubles, which the death of the elector of Bavaria was likely to excite in Germany, seem to have subsided ; and of late the movements of the king of Prussia threaten to excite a general war. Great Britain, whose expiring hope sustains itself on every straw, finds comfort in the expectations that this will involve France, and divert her from engaging in our war. But in my judgment it is much more likely to operate against her in Prussia, than against us in France.

I beg the favour of having my duty laid before congress, and have the honour to be with the greatest respect, gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

" March 25th, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—The conclusion of the treaties here has ended the powers of our commission. Whatever character it may please congress to give to their representations in future must be specified by new powers, and letters of credence to the sovereign, with

whom they are to act. The first example of this kind will be material, in determining the future rank of the United States of America, among other sovereign nations. Since the treaty of Munster, Venice and the United Provinces have had their rank as crowned sovereigns. I presume the United States of America will not think a lower rank competent to their dignity and to the importance they must command in the balance of European power. For I am satisfied that in a few years that balance must be in their hand. Whatever orders congress are pleased to give on this subject their ministers must support with firmness and inflexibility, *at first*, to prevent any disagreeable disputes for the future.

By the enclosed copies of letters I hope to give you a distinct view of what passed in Spain and Prussia. I have never been able to learn, to what was owing the sudden change in the favourable disposition of the Spanish court during my absence in Germany. Whether it arose from the proceedings at Dunkirk, &c. which produced such rigour on the part of France, they will not inform me. But it is clear from Baron Schulenburg's letter, that the conduct of France in consequence of the Dunkirk business, prevented Prussia from adopting what I proposed.

I have written to Messrs. Gardoqui about their charging five per cent. commission, which appears to me exorbitant, because I remit them the money before they lay it out.

With great respect I have the honour to be your obedient humble servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, April 4th, 1778.

The Committee of Secret Correspondence.

Having pressed the matter of supplies from Spain I received an answer yesterday that endeavours would

be used to send you succours through the Havannah. The present critical situation of that court renders it averse to being more particular, or to receive applications, but I think they will not long remain under this embarrassment. Dr. Franklin and I are now settling the articles as well as we can, from the papers Mr. Deane thought proper to leave in Dr. Franklin's hands. How orderly and adequate they are, you will judge yourselves from the list I shall take care to transmit to you. I am obliged to say that this gentleman took to himself the entire management of the business, in which I could obtain no share without a quarrel; that my advice and assistance were always rejected, and he never would settle accounts. Whether he has conducted it well you will have the means of determining by what you have received compared with the sums expended, of which I shall make it my duty to transmit you an account.

I cannot venture to detail to you the plans of this court relative to the conduct of the war in your quarter. You will probably see the commencement of them before this reaches you. I enclose some additional and as I conceive necessary articles, which I shall endeavour to obtain, if congress approve of them. I also send an accurate list of the actual and intended force of Great Britain.

With my utmost duty and respect to congress, I have the honour to be gentlemen, your most respectful and obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

" PARIS, April 8th, 1778.

Gentlemen,—Whether there were any public despatches for you by the opportunity that carries Mr. Deane, the late commissioner, I do not know, because my colleagues concealed his departure from me. I trust you will think it proper to desire the reason of such conduct; the tendency of which is too plain and

too pernicious not to require censure, if it cannot, as I conceive it cannot, be justified by stronger reasons of utility.

Great Britain has not yet thought proper to declare war in form against France. But the vessels and sailors of each nation are reciprocally seized in their ports, and a French frigate has lately made prize of an English privateer. Both are preparing with all possible despatch, and both waiting for your decisive declaration, with an anxiety proportioned to their conviction of that declaration deciding the fate of the war.

As far as I can venture to judge of courts and ministers, those of this country seem cordially disposed to co-operate with you in driving the British entirely out of America. But from what I could observe during the conference on the treaty, they seem to have some wishes relative to the islands of the fishery, which are not altogether compatible with the system laid down by congress.

The war between the emperor and the king of Prussia seems inevitable. It will be a war of giants, and must engage all Germany. Three hundred thousand men, the best disciplined and the best led that ever made war, are ready to dispute the question on each side. Russia is sufficiently occupied by her own situation and the Porte. The north is therefore no longer a subject for your apprehension. The whole house of Bourbon will certainly join in the war against England. Holland therefore seems the principal object of negotiation now; because if the enemy should be deprived of her amity, they must soon be reduced to a *carte blanche*.

This is the present situation of Europe. I enclose you a memorial which I wrote last year, and have now sent to Holland, to promote the disposition we are informed they entertain at present in our favour.

In the additional articles I sent for your consideration, there are some not very materially different, but as they are expressed in a different manner, I thought it might be of use to submit the choice to you.

The enclosed report of what I received from the court of Spain, is in answer to an application in behalf of the people, who have involved themselves in this unfortunate situation.

It is proper to inform you, that the department of Spain, to which it has pleased congress to destine me, is the most expensive of any, because the court spend different parts of the year at four different places; at which every public minister is obliged to reside, and consequently to have a house, which augments very much his expenses. As I wish to avoid all occasion of blame, I mention this circumstance that I may not appear to be extravagant, should my expenses increase in going thither.

You will greatly oblige me by presenting my duty to congress; and believe me to be, with the greatest respect, your obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, April 14th, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—I have seen your examination of Capt. Folgier, who has either not told the truth relative to the contents of what he confesses to have opened, or they were opened before he received them. He mentions a letter from Mr. Hancock and Mr. R. H. Lee being in the same packet, and in the common envelope, which was not so, as I have not the honour of being Mr. Hancock's correspondent. The large packet, marked "Despatches," was sealed with my seal, and contained a packet for the chairman of the secret committee, one for Samuel Adams, Esq., one for F. L. Lee, Esq., and several for R. H. Lee, Esq. They were large, and contained a great many letters, pub-

lic and private. This transaction obliges me to call to mind and state to you a great many previous circumstances.

The first of my despatches which fell into his hands after his arrival here, he is charged by Mr. Carmichael with having opened. It is true he accuses Mr. Carmichael of having done it, and all I am certain of, is, that they were opened and detained. Mr. C. appeals to Mr. Rogers, who he says was present, and who is now a major in the army of the states. I have now in my possession a letter, which I sealed myself, delivered to Mr. Deane, and received from him with the seal apparently untouched; but upon examination, it was clear it had been opened, and that with a dexterity not easily described, but of which there remains very convincing proofs.

These instances mark a strong desire in Mr. Deane to become acquainted with what was under my seal, and I shall proceed to show, that this curiosity was likely to be much augmented, at the period that Folger's despatches were examined.

Upon my return from Germany I received information, that two persons, entirely in the confidence of Mr. Deane, (Dr. Bancroft and Mr. Carmichael) and maintained by him with the public money, had been speaking with great enmity against me, and circulating reports, that both the other commissioners were enemies to me, and that we were at open variance. Such variance did not then exist, but they had laid the foundation of it so effectually during my absence; that it could not fail to happen, so as apparently to justify their assertions. The report of this variance had been industriously propagated, not only in France but in England. The person who was present at these conversations was clearly of opinion, from the similarity of the manner, that some most atrocious abuse of my brother and me, with no very modest praises of my colleagues and of Mr. Carmichael,

which were inserted in the English newspapers, came from the same persons. A gentleman to whom I had entrusted this information, with the design of conciliating differences, apprised them of it. This gave them great alarm; and I found they were exerting themselves to prevent me from getting any farther information, and were under great apprehensions of the consequences of what I had already received. This was a little before the despatches in question were written. Capt. Hynson was sent to Havre by Mr. Deane; he corresponded with him, and received his orders from him. Every thing relating to it was kept a profound secret from me. The same management was used relative to Capt. Folger. The orders the committee have seen, were given, and not signed by me; I never before saw or heard of them, though I was at that time in the same house with my colleagues; nor did they communicate to me the vessel, the place, or the person who was to carry our despatches. This concealment of things from me, has been much practised since; as I suppose the information received from those letters, made it appear more necessary.

That Mr. Deane and those connected with him should think their own safety much concerned in examining and detaining my despatches, written at such a juncture, is exceedingly probable. That they would not hesitate about the means, their former proceedings prove. I had also previous to this a proof of Mr. Carmichael's curiosity to examine my correspondence. My letters from London were addressed under cover to a tailor in Paris. I received one day by the penny post, in a cover addressed by a strange hand, a letter such as used to come through that channel, but which was open. Upon enquiring of the tailor, he told me that he had sent the packet to Mr. Carmichael, and that Mr. Carmichael's man had left word with his foreman to send all letters that came to him including mine to his master. This I have under the

foreman's hand. I do not believe that any one in Paris but Mr. Carmichael knew of my letters coming that way, and he knew it a little before by accident.

How far these circumstances justify my suspicion I must submit to congress. It seems certain that Capt. Hynson was bribed by England, and if he had access given him to take my despatches he might have served both his employers by also taking the general despatches.

I have the honour to be with great respect your obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, April 26th, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

At my return from London, the 8th of January last I thought it my duty to inform Dr. Franklin as well as Mr. Deane of the injurious report propagated against the commissioners, viz. That Mr. Hartley told me that Lord North had informed him, 'that he knew of Dr. Bancroft's being in London, and was informed he had been sent there by the American commissioners to stock-job.'

The above is the declaration of Mr. Thornton, whom the commissioners sent with their letter to Lord North, touching the prisoners. He informed me as above on his return, and told me at the same time that he had given the same information to Dr. F. Dr. Bancroft lived in the house with Dr. F. and Mr. D. at the public expense. He set out express for London, immediately upon our receiving the news of Gen. Burgoyne's surrender. His departure was kept a secret from me for some time. He has been trusted since by Dr. F. and Mr. D. with the secrets of state communicated to the three commissioners only, with such strict injunctions of secrecy that the commissioners thought they were not at liberty to communicate them to the commissioners for Vienna

and Tuscany, and Mr. Lee would not do it without their concurrence. Dr. Bancroft still remains in the confidence of Dr. F., and conveys every thing to the Messrs. Whartons in London, who seem to be acting on both sides. The minister here has repeatedly warned the commissioners that they had a traitor about them, and at the time that Folger's despatches were robbed, a most important memoire from the commissioners to the courts of Versailles and Madrid, was conveyed to the English court through the hands of Governor Pownall. Upon speaking of this to Count Vergennes as soon as I was informed of it by Mr. Hartley, his excellency assured me that no one had been trusted with it but Mr. Girard, and therefore the treachery could not be from one of their people.

These are facts which I think it my duty to represent to congress, that they may take such order in it as to their wisdom shall seem fit.

I have the honour to be with great respect gentlemen, your obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

" PARIS, May 9th, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—No declaration of war in Germany or England. All things are preparing for it; Count d'Estaing had not passed Gibraltar the 27th of last month, contrary winds having prevented his passing the straits. About thirty sail of the line are assembled at Spithead, under Admiral Keppel, but are not yet in a state for action. They are arraying their militia, and the chief object of their attention now seems to be their own defence. As far as I can judge, the king and his ministers are not now sincere in their propositions, (even such as they are) of peace and accommodation.

I have not yet obtained any light on Folger's affair.

The enclosed copy of a letter from Count Vergennes will show you the train in which I have put the enquiry. But I have reason to apprehend that persons are concerned who will have address enough to frustrate it. The blank paper substituted for the letter taken, should be preserved, and compared with the paper of all the letters received by the same vessel; some discovery may be pointed out by that. Mr. Deane and Mr. Carmichael should be examined and their accounts transmitted here to be compared with those of others.

Spain and the German powers are yet undecided with regard to us. I do not think our enemies will succeed with Holland. We shall endeavour to establish a fund for the purposes you desire.

I have the honour to be with great respect, your obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE.

By the banker's accounts it appears that the following sums were paid from Dec. 1776, to March 1778, to the private disposition of the commissioners. Dr. F. £65,956 3s. 13d. S. Deane, £113,004 12s. 13d. A. Lee, £68,846 2s. 16d. In my sum is included the additional expense of my journeys to Spain and Germany.
A. L."

"PARIS, May 20th, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—Upon receiving your letters by our colleague Mr. J. Adams, I lost no moment to press for supplies, such as you mention as most wanting (blankets, shoes, and stockings) in my particular department. In consequence I have the pleasure to inform you, that orders are given and are now executing for furnishing you as before, which will be done from time to time as opportunities offer. I will direct medicines, and such naval stores as they can

collect, to be added. I shall send you the accounts of their being shipped, from time to time, as they are remitted to me, to prevent mistakes or impositions.

For want of this accuracy, the public seems to me a little too much at the mercy of Mr. John Ross and Mr. Jonathan Williams. The former has had upwards of 400,000 francs, and the other more than a million of the public money. They tell us in general, that they have shipped goods on the public account; but the particulars the former has refused to give, and the latter has hitherto evaded it on various pretences. By this means, should the vessels arrive safe, they can claim what proportion they please as shipped on their own account; if they are lost, then the whole may be charged to the public.

I have seen with infinite concern, the public money expended without economy and without account. My colleagues excluded me from knowing or advising about the manner in which it was expended. They have encouraged our agents to treat me with disrespect, so that my interposition might be useless. A thousand times have I desired that the public accounts might from time to time be made up, to which I have as constantly received evasive or affrontive answers. So that now Mr. Adams and myself find, that after the expenditure of more than five millions of livres, we are involved in confusion and debt, the principal articles furnished being unpaid for, and demands made to the amount of many millions; that is, including the cargoes of the Amphitrite, Seine, and Flammand, for which a demand has been made, and which constitute the principal part of the supplies which have been furnished. Having been thus excluded by my colleagues from the management of the public business, I hope I shall not be deemed responsible for the conduct of it. Congress will see, that in acting without me, they have pursued the letter, not the spirit of our

commission. When the enclosed contract with Mr. Mortieu is compared with the contract I had put it in their power to make, the reason will appear why they concealed it from me, and acted without my concurrence. Mr. Williams, at the same time, had the furnishing 16,000 suits, which I suppose will be upon as advantageous terms. Upon enquiry, I find that as good uniforms as can be worn may be contracted for in France for 32 francs, and in Germany for 37. Those which were offered us from thence were of coarser cloth.

With great respect, &c.

ARTHUR LEE."

"MAY 23d, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—In consequence of your despatches by my colleague Mr. Adams, I lost no moment to press the renewal of the order for supplying you with such stores as you want, and as that country affords from the court of Spain.

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that such orders are given, and I am assured will be carried into execution as speedily as possible.

We mean to apply for the loan desired, to the moneyed men of Holland; and in my particular department I shall endeavour to take the favourable opportunity of the arrival of the Flota, to urge the same in Spain. War is not begun in Germany or Great Britain, but it seems to be inevitable.

I have sent orders to all the ports in France and Spain, to communicate the account of the sailing of a fleet of thirteen ships from England against America, to all the captains who sail for the United States, or the French islands. This I conceived would be the most certain means of communicating the alarm, and preventing surprise. The ministry here are also

to convey a letter from us by every opportunity, to the same purpose.

With great respect, I am gentlemen, your obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, June 1st, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—The hurry in which the last despatches went away, prevented me from being so particular about them as I wished. Nos. 7, 8, and 9, were omitted, being newspapers, and too voluminous for the conveyance. Mr. Mortieu's papers were sent to show you the demands that are made upon us, and the grounds of them. You will see that they are accounts which Mr. Deane ought to have settled. It is this sort of neglect, and a studied confusion, that has prevented Mr. Adams and myself, after a tedious examination of the papers left with Dr. Franklin, from getting any satisfaction as to the expenditure of the public money. All we can find, is, that millions have been expended, and almost every thing remains to be paid for. Bargains have been made of the most extravagant kind with this Mr. Mortieu, and others. For example, the uniforms that are agreed for at 37 francs, might have been had here for 32 francs each, and equally good; which being 5 francs in every suit too much, comes to a large sum upon thousands.

Of the £100,000 advanced to Mr. Hodge there appears no account. I have been told that Conyngham's vessel cost but three thousand pounds sterling. For what purpose the overplus was given to Mr. Hodge, how the public came to pay for the refitting, and at length the vessel, and her prize money made over to Messrs. Ross and Hodge, without a farthing being brought to public account, it rests with Mr. Deane or Mr. Hodge to explain. I have enclosed you all the receipts found among those papers, the

sending of which has been neglected. Of the triplicates and duplicates an original is sent and copies of those which are single. You will see that my name is not to the contracts. In fact, they were concealed from me with the utmost care, as was every other means of my knowing how the affairs were conducted. And as both my colleagues concurred in this concealment, and in refusing my repeated requests to make up accounts and transmit them to congress, it was not in my power to know with accuracy, much less to prevent this system of profusion. I was told that Mr. Williams, to whom I knew the public money was largely entrusted, was to furnish his accounts monthly, but they were never shown me, and it now appears that for the expenditure of a million of livres he has given no account as yet, nor can we learn how far what he has shipped is on the public, how far on private account. We are in the same situation with regard to Mr. Ross. This indulgence to Mr. Williams, and favouring Mr. Chaumont, a particular friend of Dr. Franklin's is the only reason I can conceive for the latter having countenanced and concurred in all this system. You will see a specimen of the manner of it in the enclosed copy of a letter from Dr. Franklin to his nephew, which the latter sent me as an authority for his doing what the commercial agent conceived to be encroaching on his province. I have done my utmost to discharge my duty to the public, in preventing the progress of this disorder and dissipation in the conduct of its affairs. If it should be found that my colleagues have done the same, I shall most cordially forgive them the offence and injury so repeatedly offered me in the manner of it. I do not wish to accuse them, but excuse myself; and should have felt as much happiness in preventing, as I have regret in complaining of this abuse.

The appearance of things between this country and Great Britain, and the emperor and the king of Prus-

sia, has been so long hostile without an open rupture, that it is not easy to say when either war will begin. The king of Prussia has found it so necessary to cultivate the aid of Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, &c. that he has declined receiving your deputy, or following the example of France, as he promised. It remains therefore to try the empress, who, independently of the present crisis, was much less inclined to our cause. It seems to be the settled system of northern politics, that if a war should happen, the empress of Russia will assist the king of Prussia as far as the Porte will permit her.

In this country the appointment of Marshal de Broglie, commander of the army on the sea-coast, and the Duke de Chartres, son to the Duke d'Orleans and Prince of the blood, going on board of the fleet at Brest, announce designs of some dignity and magnitude.

I am of opinion, with our colleague Mr. Adams, that it would be better for the public that the appointments of your public ministers were fixed, instead of being left at large, and their expenses indefinite. From experience I find the expense of living in that character cannot well be less than £3000 sterling a year, which I believe too is as little as is allowed to any public minister above the rank of a consul. If left at liberty I conceive most persons will exceed this sum. Neither do I perceive any adequate advantage to be expected from having more than one person at each court. When things take a more settled form there will be little need of that check, which is the chief utility of it at present.

The mixing powers too, and vesting them in several persons at the same time, give ground for disputes, which are disgraceful, as well as detrimental to the public. This has been much experienced in the case of the commercial agents and the agent of the commissioners, who have been clashing and con-

testing, till the public business was almost entirely at a stand. For the present however, we have settled this matter by directing all commercial business to be put into the hands of those appointed by the commercial agent till the pleasure of congress is known.

Two more ships have been lately sent to the Newfoundland station, and two to the Mediterranean, which, with the thirteen detached under Admiral Byron, to reinforce Lord Howe, leave seventeen of the line and eight frigates for Admiral Keppel, and these very ill manned. I have exceeding good information that their plan of operations for America is as follows.

Gen. Howe is to evacuate Philadelphia, sending 5000 of his troops and two ships of war to Quebec. The rest of the troops with the fleet are to retire to Halifax, where the latter being joined by Admiral Byron, will it is presumed maintain a superiority in those seas over the allied fleet. I wrote you before that the lowest estimate given to the English ministry for the defence of Canada, was 8000 men, and that their actual force there was about 4000 ; the 5000 added will in their opinion be sufficient, with their superiority at sea, for its protection. I cannot learn that any but some German recruits are to be sent out this year, and from the present situation of things they are more likely to recall a great part of their troops than to reinforce them.

Our friends in Spain have promised to remit me 150,000 livres more, which I shall continue to vest in supplies that may be useful to you.

I hope, in consequence of what I formerly wrote, to have the express orders of congress relative to the line they would choose to fix between the territories of the United States and those of the crown of Spain. The privileges to be enjoyed by the subjects of the United States, settling for the purposes of commerce, and the regulation of port duties, remain yet to be

settled in both kingdoms. But I foresee, that if they are left unregulated they will be the source of continual complaints and disagreements. The Flota is not yet in port, which retards the operations in Europe. I could have wished, that the great object of having a superior naval force in America had not been left to the uncertain issue on which it was placed, by other advice than mine. Had the Brest and Toulon fleets, which were equally ready, been ordered to sail at the same time, and that which met with favourable winds to go on, and the other to return, one of them would probably have been upon your coast before this time; that is, before the English fleet could possibly have sailed to reinforce and save Lord Howe. And, as having a superior force in America was the great object, together with that of taking the Howes by surprise, they should have made as sure of this aim as possible. Had this plan been executed with address, the war would have been ended.

Mr. Penet has proposed to me, the collecting and carrying over of a number of workmen, to establish a foundry of cannon and a manufactory of small arms. It is to be at his expense, under the protection of congress. As this seems to me much more likely to answer your purposes than our sending them, I have ventured to give him my opinion, that it will be acceptable to congress. We have found such an universal disposition here to deceive us in their recommendations, that it is ten to one if workmen chosen by us in such circumstances were skilful.

The disposition in Holland seems to be favourable to us; but I apprehend it is not warm enough to produce any decided proof of it, till they see Great Britain more enfeebled. Mons. Dumas has published a memoire I sent him on the subject, which he thinks will have some effect.

With my humble duty to congress, I have the honour to be, &c.

ARTHUR LEE."

"CHAILLOT, June 9th, 1778.

Intelligence from England sent to Count Vergennes and Count d'Aranda, with my respects."

"PARIS, June 9th, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—My last of the 1st inst. informed you of Admiral Byron with thirteen sail being ordered against you; of which we sent notice by every way most likely to answer, to warn the states of their danger. We have now certain advice, that this fleet having put into Plymouth is there stopped; their remaining fleet being found too weak to protect them at home. I enclose you an account of their force, and the disposal of it; and nothing seems more certain, than that the naval and land force now employed against you will be diminished, not augmented. However, I have now settled such means of intelligence, that you will be apprised if any alteration should happen. All our intelligence announces the utmost confusion in Great Britain and Ireland; such as will infallibly find them employment at home, independent of France and Spain. Their councils are so fluctuating, in consequence of the variety of their distress, that advices of them cannot be given with certainty; that is, without being frequently subject to appear premature.

The British ministry have agreed to an exchange of prisoners with us, by which we shall immediately release upwards of 200.

War is not commenced in Germany, but is talked of as inevitable. The deputy of congress for Vienna is at his destination, to feel the disposition of that court. But I understand that their attention is

so engaged with the approaching war, that other propositions proceed slowly. As the king of Prussia contends against the empress and the house of Austria, in maintenance of the treaty of Westphalia, which is the great bulwark of German rights, it is therefore necessary that he should league himself with the German princes, among whom the king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover bears so much sway, that he could not hazard the turning his influence against him, by entering into an alliance with us. To cultivate and encourage the favourable disposition towards us in Holland, we have sent them the treaty concluded here; and we shall follow it by proposals for a loan, as soon as Dr. Franklin, to whom the digesting the plan, and having the bills proposed printed, is left, has prepared the business for execution. Mr. Williams has at length given in his accounts; from which it appears that upwards of forty thousand suits of the soldiers' clothes ordered, and twenty thousand fusees, have been sent from Nantes and Bourdeaux; and the present exhausted state of our finances will not permit us to fulfil them farther. The ships of war sent hither are an enormous expense to us; hardly any of them less than 100,000 francs; and things have hitherto been so managed, that their prizes produce us little or nothing. This seems to have arisen from the variety of agents employed, the confusion of their provinces, and the loose manner in which the public accounts have been kept. To remedy this, we have endeavoured to simplify the business of expenditure, by directing the whole to be discharged by the two deputy commercial agents appointed by my brother, in the interval of his negotiating in Germany. By this we expect to avoid the infinite impositions arising from a connexion with a multiplicity of merchants, many of whom, supposing us to know no better, will endeavour to deceive us. They, as merchants, know

how to check the others, and are themselves ultimately responsible to us.

I have the honour, &c. with respect your obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, June 15th, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—I find I was mistaken in saying in my last of the 9th that twenty thousand fusees had been shipped from Nantes and Bourdeaux. Upwards of ten thousand remain unshipped at Nantes. Upon the strength of the promised remittance from our friends in Spain, and near £100,000 remaining in my hands, I have desired the Gardoquis to continue shipping blankets, and strong shoes from Bilboa, twenty thousand livres worth of drugs and salt to be shipped by Mr. Cathalan, of Marseilles, a thousand suits of soldiers' clothes, from Bourdeaux, by Mr. Bonfield, and six hundred fusees of the Prussian make from Berlin, that you may judge on arming a corps with them whether they are preferable to others.

The enclosed will show you the state of things in Germany with regard to the war ; as it is written on one side, the Austrian cause must not be exactly measured by this standard.

My brother writes me from Vienna in a late letter, that Col. Faucet is using the utmost endeavours to raise German recruits. But from the present state of things I do not imagine he can succeed ; and the north, that is Russia and Denmark, are not likely to give our enemies any assistance. As far as I can judge, their efforts against us, except a sort of piratical war, are exhausted. The same ministry continues. The house of Bourbon is certainly united against them. They have the same imbecility of council. Their enemies increase in proportion to the diminution of their means. The decay of that coun-

merce, the distress of their people, the rapacity of their public officers, and the load of their debt and taxes, promise soon to bring upon them the most deplorable distress, and prevent them from being any longer a formidable enemy.

The Flota has not yet arrived. The enclosed copies of Capt. Jones' letter, and one from the majority of his crew, make me apprehend that the Ranger will share the fate of the Revenge. We have done all in our power to bring him and his affairs into order, but hitherto in vain.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ARTHUR LEE."

" June 17th, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—I find among the papers left by Mr. Deane the following accounts, a note of which may be useful.

Shipped on board the Mere Bobie, June 1st,	
1777, 20 bales of woollens. On board the	
Benjamin, the 10th October, 220 pieces sail	
cloth, first quality, (francs) 11,550	
82 pieces sail cloth, second quality, 4,100	
1 cable, 20 inches, 1 do. 18 do. 1 do. 16 do. 8,845	
I shipped on board the Christine, from Am-	
sterdam for Nantes, 26th January 1778,	
4000 gun locks, 8,000	

The little regularity with which the business appears to have been done, makes me think this memorandum will not be useless.

There are also two accounts of sales of goods sent to Nantes, on public account, by the Poison Volant, Capt. le Farque. One is anonymous, and dated April 10th, 1777, for peltrey, the net proceeds, (livres,) 79,530 9. The other for tobacco, 86 hhds. also anonymous, net proceeds, (livres) 42,577 13 4.

As I cannot find that these proceeds were paid on

the public account to our banker, it remains with Mr. Deane to explain what became of them.

I have the honour to be, &c. with great respect, &c.
ARTHUR LEE."

" PARIS, July 1st, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—I enclose you some extracts, by which you will see that war is not yet declared, though on all hands it appears to be fast approaching.

The Spanish flota is not yet arrived, nor their fleet from South America. Since my last, a French frigate of 26 guns was attacked by one of England of 28, off Brest, and after an obstinate engagement, the latter made off and soon after sunk. This has given great spirits to the French marine and nation; and is more especially fortunate, as the English were the aggressors. Admiral Keppel is before Brest, with 23 sail of the line, where I believe he will not remain long unattacked. Permission is given to French subjects to fit out privateers, and orders are sent to all the ports to permit our prizes to be sold. From London the ministry have offered us an exchange of prisoners, which we are taking the necessary measures to embrace.

By some unaccountable neglect, the person to whom Dr. Franklin committed the printing of the bills resolved on for the loan, has not furnished them; so that nothing farther is yet done in that business. But I hope you will soon have news of its farther progress, and that some event will happen to furnish you with a very favourable moment for its execution.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, July 6th, 1778.

To the Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—I enclose to you the best account I have been able to procure, of the constitution of the militia of Switzerland; and have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, your most obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

"JULY 16th, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—I had the honour of receiving your favour of the 14th of May, mentioning the receipt of mine of Oct. 6th, Nov. 27th, and Dec. 8th. By Mr. Deane you should have received mine of Feb. 28th, with duplicates of many others. With yours of the 14th was the duplicate of one dated August 8th, 1777, the original of which I never received. There were also enclosed two resolutions of congress, May 27th and 9th. I shall attend most punctually to the commands of congress, and what your letters contain. Your letter of the 14th of May tells us, that you have enclosed instructions and authorities for giving up on your part the whole of the 11th article, &c., but no such papers can be found. Capt. Nyles, of the Spy, from Portsmouth, who brought the despatches, gives this account. That the despatches No. A. from congress, were delivered to him. That on his way to Paris he met with Dr. Franklin at Versailles, who (in company with a Mons. de Chaumont) opened the public despatches, and then they were delivered to us. Dr. F. says he saw nothing of the instructions and authorities mentioned. It was probably therefore an omission in making up the packets, which you will learn by examining the secretary. So many tricks have been played with our despatches, and we are surrounded at Passy by such sort of people, that I won-

der more at our getting any thing, than at losing something.

I transmitted immediately the account of the ratification to Spain, and hope soon to have something to say from that quarter.

Since my despatches by Mons. Girard, I wrote you on April 4th, 14th, May 9th, 20th, 23d, June 1st, 15th, 17th, July 1st and 6th, which I hope you will receive.

I enclose you a duplicate of the account of the Swiss militia, as you desired. We are signing the notes for a loan in Holland, which will now I hope soon be tried. Mons. Beaumarchais is not, nor has he been for sometime, in Paris. We do not know of any other person who represents the house of Hortalez & Co.

In a letter of June 27th from the port, where I used to ship blankets, &c., I have an account of 6000 blankets, 10,000 pair strong shoes, a large parcel of stockings, with rigging, duck, and tent cloth, which will soon be ready for shipping. *This is gratis as formerly*, and whatever else has been sent I have paid for; so that *those merchants have no demand upon you, nor are you under any necessity of sending effects to them*, unless you should think it a proper market for some things, as it certainly is for fish.

As I have refused to agree to passing Mr. Williams' accounts, or paying him the balance, which in my opinion he demands unjustly, I think it my duty to send you my reasons for doing so.

I have given my consent to transferring Capt. Jones to the minister of war here as he desired; though that request seemed to me to be obtained by a conduct in Capt. Jones, and an intrigue on the part of a Mons. Chaumont and Mr. Williams, which did not deserve encouragement, and as an example, cannot but be of great detriment to the service. But we had received such complaints against Capt. Jones from all his crew;

his putting his lieutenant, Simpson, under arrest, apparently without any reason, and then contriving to get him thrown into a common jail; his quitting his ship without leave, and coming to Paris to intrigue about getting into the French service, and continuing here in spite of our orders to the contrary, was such conduct as left no alternative in my mind, but that of suspending him, or getting rid of him in the manner he himself had contrived.

I proposed to my colleagues an application to the minister relative to the 11th and 12th articles of the commercial treaty, agreeably to your letter; but Dr. Franklin being of opinion that this could not be done with propriety, as the instructions, &c. were not come, it was postponed.

The French and English fleets are both out in search of each other. The imperial and Prussian armies are in the field, the latter having invaded Bohemia; so that every moment is big with the expectation of some great event. Those of this campaign will not in all probability be very decisive. The winter will be the great season of negotiation for arranging all Europe on each side; and on the success of the cabinet the continuance of the war will depend.

With great respect, your humble servant,
ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, July 20th, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—On the 17th we interchanged ratifications at Versailles. The treaty of commerce passed the great seal, because it becomes part of the law and regulations of trade, and therefore must be public. That of alliance, on the contrary, being secret, has the privy seal only annexed.

At the same time the minister, upon reading your letter relative to the 11th and 12th articles, agreed

without hesitation to the rescinding of them as soon as the resolve of congress should arrive, and in the mean time directed the register of the treaty to be suspended, that they might not appear upon record. I may congratulate you on the happy conclusion of this business.

Among the objections I stated to the paying Mr. *****'s demands upon the public money, one was, that he had put fifty thousand livres of the money actually remitted to him to be vested in supplies, into his own pocket. This he says he has re-paid by bill on Mr. Chaumont, payable in four months, which he remitted not to the commissioners, but to Dr. Franklin, and which neither was nor is deposited with the public banker. Thus, in this pressing time, this sum of the public money is given to Mr. ***** for four months; at the end of which time Mons. Chaumont may pay us by another bill upon Mr. *****. It is this kind of conduct with regard to the public money entrusted to us, which has given me much uneasiness; since it is easy to see what evils will follow, if from favouritism or relationship such proceedings are permitted. Mr. ***** has received upwards of 100,000 livres as a balance due from the public to him, when he appears to owe more than that to the public; and this without giving in, though desired to do it, a single voucher for any of his accounts. The same indulgence was observed to him before. The public money was put into his hands, for which he gave in lumping accounts, without a single voucher; and the whole was kept a profound secret from me, till the departure of Mr. Deane gave me access to the public papers, which had been withheld from me till then. In endeavouring to prevent these undue proceedings, I have discharged what I deemed my duty to the public; a duty however which necessarily excites personal enmities and disrespect. Of the means that have been used to encourage the latter,

and give this Mr. ***** an opinion that he might act as he pleased, the enclosed letter No. 1 will be a proof. After that, the subsequent part of his conduct, which has prevented the remaining goods to be shipped, is not surprising. So long ago as the 25th of May the commissioners wrote to him to deliver the goods on hand to Mr. Schweighauser, to be shipped for America. How he complied with this, after having charged us with the full commission as if he had shipped them himself, the following extract of a letter from Mr. Schweighauser will show. "I have now to inform you that Capt. Whipple, at his return to his ship, having wrote to me that he wanted the goods you had pointed out to be sent by him, in order to stow his hold properly, I made yesterday application to Mr. Williams's clerk for the continental stores in his possession; when he told me he had no objection to deliver them, provided I would give him an order upon you, gentlemen, for their amount."

The flota is arrived, and the fleet is daily expected. When that is safe, I have no doubt of the Spanish court taking a decided part. But they are secret and slow. Their ambassador that is gone lately to London, will in the mean time make propositions, which, if accepted, will secure the great objects of our wishes. The distresses of England have almost brought her to her senses; but perhaps not enough to make her submit to hard terms to avoid harder. In time they must.

The king of Prussia with Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick at the head of one army, and Prince Henry of Prussia with another, have gained such advantageous positions in Bohemia over the imperial army, that it is imagined the latter cannot be extricated, at least without very considerable loss.

The proposition of an augmentation of their army in the United provinces, which is the favourite measure for the Stadt-Holder and the English party, has

been lately negatived. There is not the least reason to apprehend that Holland will take part with our enemies ; nor will they be easily persuaded, though seemingly well-disposed, to join with us.

Respectfully,

ARTHUR LEE.

P. S.—I enclose a summary of Messrs. Gardoqui's account, and that of some fusils, such as the king of Prussia's army use ; which are sent for approbation. I should be glad if mention were made of the quality and condition of all the goods received, that I may judge whether the merchants employed here acted properly.

A. L."

" July 28th, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—I have taken the advantage of the arrival of the Flota, to press the loan of two millions, and will transmit the answer as soon as I receive it. The order for sending supplies is renewed upon the old footing, and I trust you will receive woollens, drugs, and some naval stores, through that channel. We are signing the notes for the loan in Holland, which is a work of time, particularly to myself, as I annex a secret mark to each signature, to detect any forgeries, which will no doubt be attempted by individuals, and perhaps by the government with which we are at war.

(I have not signed the general letter, because the message was received, and the answer made, while I was signing the notes, without sending for me, so that I cannot bear witness to a declaration which I did not hear, and which, had I been present I should have desired in writing and signed, knowing from the experience we have had, that this sort of conversations with under secretaries are not to be relied on. These and other reasons, which I will not trou-

ble you with, would have made me dissent from the proceedings on that message, and have made me withhold my signature from the letter.)

No answer has been received from the British court to the return we sent of the seainen in our possession. If the intelligence of their resolution to offer a recognition of our independence be true, it is a proof of their being conscious of their incapacity to carry on the war against the United States and France, allied. They have been somewhat slow in finding this out, and I am persuaded that before another year is at an end they will discover the necessity of adding to this offer the cession of all their possessions on the continent of America. The war in Germany will occupy all the north of Europe ; Holland will remain neuter ; Spain and Portugal will join our alliance ; and if there is any certainty in human things the result must be a *carte blanche* from our imperious and inhuman enemy. They have conducted themselves with such unexampled baseness and folly, that their situation will lose the dignity that used to accompany greatness in distress, and they will fall dishonoured and unlamented.

The French and English fleets are yet out, but have not engaged ; which, as they are nearly equal, and every thing depends upon the event, they will probably avoid, by the former keeping out, and the latter in, the English channel.

I enclose a list of the packets and letters sent by Mr. Simeon Deane, a summary of Gardoqui's accounts, a triplicate of the Swiss militia, an account of the Hawke's prize, a duplicate of my letter to you of the 20th, and the latest intelligence from Germany.

You will have the goodness to present my duty to congress, and believe me to be, with the greatest esteem and respect gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

" July 29th, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—I enclose you a duplicate of the news of an engagement between the fleets of France and England. The particulars received since make the loss on board the French fleet very inconsiderable, and paint the behaviour of the English to have been inexpert and dastardly. Their repulse in the first engagement will probably lead to their defeat in the next, for which purpose the fleet of our allies will go out in a few days.

The empress and emperor seem at length sensible of the impropriety of their conduct, and in consequence a truce for six weeks is agreed on to give time for negotiation, and prevent the effusion of blood. The quadruplicate of the ratification reached us on the 3d in safety, as all the rest have done. The answer of congress to the commissioners was immediately sent to the minister, and will, I am persuaded, give great satisfaction.

It has been forgot, I believe, to mention both in our joint and particular letters, that we have attended to the plan proposed by the committee, of sending the frigates to cruise in the East Indies, and upon considering all things, it seemed to us impracticable at present. Better order must be established in our marine, and the ship's companies better sorted before it will be safe to attempt enterprises at such distance, and which require a certain extent of ideas in the captain, and entire obedience in the crew.

The authority of congress for omitting the 11th and 12th articles of the commercial treaty, which was omitted in the other despatches, came safe in the last, and will be presented immediately to the minister, who has already agreed to have them expunged.

I enclose you our letter and Mr. Hodge's answer, concerning the money expended at Dunkirk, together

with a particular account of what he has received from the public banker.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
ARTHUR LEE."

"To the Committee of Correspondence. J. Williams'
accounts sent. Letter A.

AUGUST 7th, 1778.

Gentlemen,—The enclosed paper, Letter A, was communicated secretly by Dr. Bankcroft to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, the latter of whom delivered it to me. Though, according to the charge of it, I was the person immediately injured by the conduct of him they accuse, yet it was me particularly that they took care not to apprise of what he was doing.

What I know of the matter is this, Mr. Thornton, the object of their accusation, or as I find him called in the papers left by Mr. Deane, Major Thornton, was chosen by my colleagues to carry our first letter to Lord North, concerning the treatment of prisoners in England. This was the first knowledge I had of him. Having observed that he executed his commission with activity and address, and he being recommended to me by Dr. Franklin, I took him as a secretary, with the intention of making use of his acquaintance in the naval and military lines in England. With this view I soon after sent him to London, from whence he transmitted and brought me useful intelligence, which I communicated from time to time to the ministry. Being about to send him again, I understood that Dr. Bankcroft had whispered about, that he was engaged in stock-jobbing. Upon touching this matter to Mr. Thornton, he told me that he knew Dr. Bankcroft and the Whartons were engaged in stock-jobbing, for the latter had communicated to him all their transactions and mutual correspondence; that one of them had repeatedly solicited him, when in London, to become an adventurer with them, which

he had constantly refused; and that upon his return to Paris he was pestered with letters requesting his correspondence, which he would never answer. As a proof of this, he put into my hands the letter marked D.; this, with the previous knowledge I had of his accusers being themselves stock-jobbers, satisfied me that the charge was malicious. I therefore continued him in his employment, and despatched him to London, with directions to go to Portsmouth and Plymouth, and collect the most accurate statement he could, of the force and condition of the enemy's fleet. This he executed with such secrecy, that this Mr. Wharton wrote to him in Paris while he was at Plymouth, of which letter Dr. Pringle of South Carolina was the bearer. It was directed to be delivered to Dr. Bankcroft, in Mr. Thornton's absence. When I understood this transaction, I apprehended that they had seduced him into their association; I therefore wrote him very strongly on the subject, and desired him to return immediately to Paris. His answer was, that he was then sick, but would come as soon as recovered. Since this I have not heard of him, but have had information from a very respectable merchant in London, that Mr. Wharton has communicated to him doubts of Mr. Thornton's fidelity to me, assuring him that he had given me full information of it, and all the particulars of his conduct; not a word of which was true. It appears too by his own letter and Capt. Livingston's testimony, that there is as little truth in his declaration of Mr. Thornton's being a stranger to him. Though he says he lent him money on my account, yet he never informed me of his having done so. I have not, nor ever had, the least acquaintance with Mr. Wharton, but have been frequently informed of his holding conversations not very friendly to me. Upon the whole, it appears to me that their plan was to seduce my secretary to the very infidelity of which they accuse him. I cannot help thinking that state-

ments, which it is said Mr. Thornton communicated to Mr. Wharton, were framed for the purpose of this accusation, from hints sent from hence; because there is a confusion, blundering, and a mixture of true and false in them, which might well arise from intelligence picked up, and could not have happened if my secretary had taken copies of any of my papers for the purpose of betraying them. It is certain, that the persons who have made this accusation were trusted with our state secrets after we were credibly informed of their being engaged in stock-jobbing, and at a time when that confidence was absolutely refused to the other two commissioners of congress, Mr. Izard and Mr. Wm. Lee.

You will see by our banker's account, that about the time of this stock-jobbing upon the most sacred state secret that ever was committed to us, Mr. — remitted to Mr. — 19,520 livres. These are the observations which I think it my duty to communicate to you, upon those most unworthy transactions; being fully satisfied that while such men are admitted into public confidence here, neither the business of the state, nor the honour of individuals, can be secure from their attempts.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ARTHUR LEE."

" August 21st, 1778.

Committee of Correspondence.

Gentlemen,—I had the honour of writing to you on the 7th inst. enclosing Mr. Williams's accounts, those of Mr. Hodge, and Dr. Bankcroft's accusation against my secretary, with some observations upon it by Lieut. Livingston.

I send you our banker's accounts from the beginning, with the explanation left by Mr. Deane. Nothing of moment has happened since I wrote you last.

We are pretty well informed that the British cabinet has resolved to acknowledge your independency. It does not seem to me that they can possibly avoid doing so in a year's time, on any conditions that may be prescribed to them. Such certainly is their exhausted state in every respect, that an attempt to carry on a war against the United States and France combined, and supported as the latter are sure of being, by Spain, is such an act of folly as cannot but end speedily in their utter confusion.

Be so good as to inform Mr. Robert Morris that in consequence of his letter to my brother William, he has written to Dr. Franklin and myself, requesting us to deliver to Mr. Ross all the papers among those of the late Mr. T. Morris, which do not concern the public agency. This shall be complied with on my part, whenever Mr. Ross desires it; the trunk locked and sealed having been left with Dr. Franklin and the keys with me.

I wrote you on the 28th ult. of my having pressed for the loan directed by congress. I have received an assurance through the ambassador, that an answer will be given to my memorial as soon as possible.

I enclose you a memorial for the consideration of congress, as we do not think ourselves authorized to act upon it without express orders. Could one be sure that justice would be done to the public, it might be of advantage to adopt this scheme, for congress must not trust to the success of a loan, which, for the following reasons, I apprehend will be found impracticable.

The war in Germany going on, that between us and Great Britain, and the preparations for it by France and Spain, has raised and multiplied the demand for money so as to give the holders of it their choice and their price. The empress queen has engrossed every shilling in the Netherlands. England has drawn large sums from the Hollanders, who cannot easily

quit their former market. France is negotiating a loan of one hundred million livres, which will exhaust Geneva and Switzerland. The money holders regard the lending their money at such a distance, as Jacob did the sending Benjamin into Egypt, and it is time only that will make them endure the thought of such a separation.

These are the difficulties which the circumstance of things oppose to our scheme of a loan, and render the aid of some other operation necessary for sinking the superabundant paper.

The minister's answer relative to Mr. Holker was, that he had no authority from this court, but on this our joint letter I expect will be more full. I have determined to write to you once a month or oftener, as opportunity offers, and as we do not write so frequently I am tempted to mention things which should properly come from all the commissioners, as they relate to the joint commission.

From the necessity of the case we have ventured to administer the oath of allegiance to those who desire passports of us, but I hope congress will authorize their commissioners to do so where it is necessary.

I have the honour, &c.

ARTHUR LEE."

APPENDIX VII.

Letters of Ralph Izard, Commissioner of the United States to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to Arthur Lee, and Letters of Edmund Jennings and Mr. Brigden, written to him from England during the war.

"NAPLES, 15th January 1775.

Dear Sir,—The last post which favoured me with your letter brought several newspapers, containing interesting affairs from America. I have a letter from Philadelphia, assuring me that the congress conducted themselves with great unanimity and good temper. Part of their proceedings I have seen, and their letter to the people of England, which I think must make a favourable impression. I hope the conduct of administration respecting the American agents, is taken notice of in their address to the king, or in some other part, which I have not yet seen. The papers mention nothing of Lord Chatham, except that his daughter is married to Lord Mahon. I hope you have taken that opportunity of visiting the latter, and renewing your Paris acquaintance with him. The cause may receive some benefit by your cultivating a connexion with him ; and from what we saw of him I should judge that he would not wish to decline it. Surely the applications which have been made by administration to the French and Dutch, will not prevent their sending goods. If the merchants of France and Holland know their interest, which it is generally thought they do, they will take care during this unnatural contest, to put their trade into such a channel that it will be difficult to remove it even after things in other respects may be set right. I am very sorry to find that there were no delegates from Georgia. The governor, who must have been the means of preventing their being sent, ought to be

taken proper notice of. I dedicate him to *your* attention. He has a most haughty and aspiring spirit, and I think is in every respect the worst governor that ever was sent to America. He is the greatest enemy in the world to America, except one. This is the more extraordinary as he went over to that country when very young and in very needy circumstances ; and is now possessed of a very considerable estate, entirely acquired there. He is endeavouring to get the agency of the province for his son, who is one of the stupidest young men I ever was acquainted with ; and thence arises his ill behaviour to Dr. Franklin. Our enemies have been continually assuring the king that as soon as America found that England was determined, she would fall prostrate. The fatal error is discovered just before it is irrecoverable. I pray God that advantage may be taken of the discovery, and that the horrors of a civil war may be diverted. Pray give my compliments to your brother, and thank him for the trouble he has taken about our letters ; beg the favour of him to send them to me himself. He sent one to Mr. Sayre, which was enclosed to me in a letter of sixteen days later date than the post mark on the American letter, which probably was kept during that time in his desk. My compliments to Sayre, and give him a hint of this. Tell him that I disclaim all faith in proverbs if he is not a great wit.

I am, dear sir, affectionately, your friend and humble servant,

R.A. IZARD.

P. S.—Pray remind Sayre of my note of hand, which Alleyne has. As I do not recollect the date of it, I should be obliged to you if you would learn of Alleyne when it is due, and let Sayre know, that he may be provided for it in time. I wrote above two months ago to Cruger, and have heard nothing from him ; perhaps he may have forgot to pay the postage. If you see him tell him of it.”

" PARIS, 28th Feb. 1778.

Dear Sir,—I am clearly of opinion that the public acknowledgment of the commissioners ought to be pressed before the departure of the express, as I believe the ministry were never so well disposed to attend to such a proposition. Nothing that can be sent by the frigate will be of so much importance for congress to know, as the answer and conduct of the court upon that question.

I am dear sir, your most obedient servant,
RA. IZARD."

" PARIS, 16th April 1778.

Dear Sir,—The establishment of convoys for the protection of the merchant ships going to America, and returning from thence, appears to me an object of the greatest importance. The distress which is felt in every part of America, from the scarcity of European goods, would be greatly alleviated if such a measure were adopted. One or two ships of the line and three frigates to attend the merchant vessels all the way to America, three or four times a year, would, I believe, effectually answer the purpose. You will be so good as to consider of this matter, and if it appears to you and the other gentlemen joined with you, in the commission at this court, of sufficient importance for an application to be made to the ministry on the subject, I think it would be complied with. In the mean time I must request your immediate attention to the enclosed letter, which I have received from Mr. Blake, a gentleman of South Carolina; and beg the favour of you to communicate it this morning to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, as the vessel on board of which he has taken his passage, will be ready to sail in a few days. The request seems to me so reasonable, that I am persuaded it would be granted upon an application to Mons. de Sartine; especially as it is

of as much consequence to France as to America, that a proper intercourse should be secured between the two countries.

I have the honour to be, with great regard dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

R. A. IZARD.

Hon. Arthur Lee, Esq."

" ST. AMAND, 26th July 1779.

Dear Sir,—Mrs. Izard has just informed me that the Procés has been decided against me. I have just time by this post to request the favour of you to go immediately to Versailles, and speak to Count Maurepas on the subject. This unjust decision surprises me the more, as Count Maurepas seemed perfectly convinced of the propriety of restoring my things to me. You will be so good as to let him know that I am ill at this place, which is the reason of my not applying to him myself.

I am dear sir, your friend,

R. I.

The Gazette of the 10th, which I have seen in the Courier de l'Europe, makes me very uneasy. Prevost's progress is most unaccountable to me."

" ST. AMAND, Aug. 8, 1779.

Dear Sir,—I am favoured with your two letters of 1st and 4th inst. The account you give of the proceedings respecting Mr. Ford is very alarming. His character has always appeared to me the very reverse of what his enemies have drawn it. His conduct in America has I hope been consistent with his professions here; if so, this attack may prove advantageous not only to himself, but to his country. If he can refute the charges that have been brought against him, the object of his accusers will plainly appear. It will give me infinite pleasure, if the news of Prevost's defeat should be confirmed. Should it prove

true, there must have been some mistake in the date. It could not have happened on the 14th of May, or the persons who were at Savannah must have known of it on the 21st of the same month, and on the 2d and 5th of June. If the date of the action has been mistaken, all may yet be well. I am sure that part of the gazette account which mentions the inhabitants of Charles Town offering to capitulate on condition of their being allowed to remain neuter, is false ; other parts may likewise be so too. You will be so good as to give me the earliest notice of every thing interesting which arrives from that quarter. The report of the committee of 15th of April, is most shocking. We are yet to learn, whether it has been agreed to. The fact is, those members who are friends to their country, should enter a solemn protest against it, with their reasons, and send them to the legislatures of every state. I was surprised on Monday last, to see your brother here. He told me you had informed him of my being here, and as he was in this part of the world looking out for a proper place to leave his family when he went to America, he came a little out of his way to see me.. He did not stay with me above two or three hours. My breast, which was very troublesome to me a few days ago, is now much better; should it grow worse again, I shall follow your advice.

I am dear sir, with great regard, your friend, &c.
R.A. IZARD."

" ST. AMAND, Sept. 1st, 1779.

Dear Sir,—If it be true, that the combined fleet were in chase of Hardy on the 23d, some decisive stroke has probably been struck before this time. The capture of the eleven ships you speak of, would I think certainly give us peace in the winter. This I most fervently wish for on every account; but particularly so, on account

of the situation of our affairs on both sides of the Atlantic. The Braxtonian's news, which Mr. Pringle sent you, may possibly be true. The letters with which Capt. Green was charged, might have given us an account of those proceedings; you cannot forget what Bordfield wrote you that Green said about Passey. The Courier de l'Europe, about two or three weeks ago, gave an account of the capture of a vessel of 10 guns, called the Count d'Estaing, by an English privateer, bringing despatches from the congress to their commissioners in Europe. If the commissioners who were charged with the examination of Mr. *****'s affairs, attempted to transmit two copies of his acquittal before your despatches and your brother's were received, it was as much as their modesty ought to have allowed them to do. I am now obliged to depend entirely upon the Courier de l'Europe for English news. My correspondent in London was desired to address my papers to me directly at this place. They came once in that manner, and I received them of the 10th August before they could have got to Paris. I have received none since; and whether I am obliged to the rulers of France or England for being deprived of so considerable a gratification, I know not. You seem desirous of knowing whether either of the three gentlemen you mention hired post horses at V., and for what place, on 4th August. As you wish me to enquire, I will do it; but think it is a matter that had better if possible be dropt entirely. I am glad to hear, that Bonfield has been able to forward the Commodore's business. The war however I expect will be over before the frigates are launched. I thank you for your enquiries about my health. My wife has informed you that the remedies of this place have been of service to me. We have had four or five hot days lately, which have done more good to the invalids here, than three times the number at any other time this year. It is not in my

power to say when I shall return; but I am heartily desirous of getting rid of the unpleasant discipline of this place, and to be with my family and friends again.

I am, with great regard dear sir, yours sincerely,
R.A. IZARD."

" ST. AMAND, Sept. 12th, 1779.

Dear Sir,—I have seen the Gazette de France, with the account of M. d'Estaing's proceedings. The affair between him and Byron seems like that of 27th July 1778, to have been a drawn battle, and both parties will claim the victory. The taking of Grenada will be a severer stroke upon the Scotch than any they have sustained during the war. They are proprietors of the greatest part of the island. Do not write any more to me here after the receipt of this letter, as I expect the pleasure of seeing you in Paris during the course of this week; give my compliments to your next door neighbour, and let him know this. Be so good as to send your servant as soon as this gets to your hands, to the Rue de' la Jussienna au Bureau des Gazettes étrangeres, and order the man not to send my Courier de l'Europe here any longer, but to the Hotel de Toulouse as heretofore. Adieu,

Yours affectionately,

R.A. IZARD."

" AMSTERDAM, 23d Dec. 1779.

Dear Sir,—I lament exceedingly the unlucky business which M. d'Estaing has been engaged in at Savannah, and fear that the English may take advantage of it, and reinforce Gen. Prevost so strongly that he may be again troublesome to the southward. If the enemy can establish themselves in a strong post or two, either in Georgia or Carolina, they will be able to carry on the war in the West Indies to great

advantage. If the French do not immediately send a strong naval force across the Atlantic they will, I fear, lose some of their islands. I thank you for the money you lent me; and as I have obtained a credit here, which enables me to repay you, I desire that you will draw for the amount of what I owe you on Messrs. Nicholas and Jacob Van Staphorst, merchants in this city, at thirty days sight, and deliver my note of hand to my wife. She writes me that you intend going to America as soon as you receive your recall officially, which I think you are much in the right of. You will probably be on the continent before me, as my passage to St. Eustatia is longer than yours, and it is likely I may meet with some delay at that island. You will, I hope, write to me as soon as you arrive, and direct to me in Charles Town, where I shall probably be in April. As soon after that as I can with convenience, I intend setting out for Philadelphia, to visit some friends in that city, and hope to have the pleasure of meeting you there.

I am with great regard dear sir, your friend, &c.
RA. IZARD."

"AMSTERDAM, 3d January 1780.

Dear Sir,—I have received your letters of the 24th and 26th Dec., in the latter of which is the resolution respecting you, which I think is expressed in a very unfair and ungentlemanlike manner. The last part of the sentence ought to have stood first, and I wonder that your friends, who delivered your letter of resignation did not insist upon the resolution being in that form. I have sent it to the paper you desire; but from the former conduct of the editor I do not think it will be printed. You had better send it to Diggles, and to the Courier de l'Europe, if you are desirous of having it appear, which I think is of very little importance. I am glad to hear of Mr. Adams's arrival, and hope soon to know the place of his mission; I

can hardly think your information respecting it is well founded. The conduct of congress gives me no reason to expect that reformation is so near at hand. You will, I suppose, think of returning here as soon as possible. If the Confederacy arrives safe it will be a good opportunity for you; surely Dr. Franklin's unwarrantable conduct respecting the alliance will have made congress put it out of his power to appropriate the Confederacy also to the private use of his friends. Jones sailed about a week ago with a fair wind, and I hope has safely arrived at Brest before this. The Serapis and Countess of Scarborough sailed three or four days ago. The wind has not been so favourable to them; they will be fortunate if they can get again into the Texel, without meeting with the enemy. I am much surprised at what you write me about Beaumarchais's pamphlet, and I should be very glad to see it; perhaps it may be found among the book-sellers of this place.

It appears very extraordinary that I have received no letters by Mr. Adams. If he had had any for me, he would I am sure have sent them at the same time with your letter from the committee. I am inclined to think that his commission is for Holland; it is I think probable that he has brought powers to treat in conjunction with France. If so, I pray to God that his negotiation may prove successful. M. d'Estaing's unfortunate affair must have done us infinite injury. By alarming Clinton, he has made him add the strength of Rhode Island to that of New-York; and being now much stronger than is necessary for the defence of that post, it is probable he will send considerable reinforcements to Gen. Provost. If Charles Town should be taken, the enemy will be able to make it impregnable, and will carry on the war against the French Islands in the West Indies to very great advantage. The French ministry should endeavour to prevent that by sending immediately a

fleet to Carolina, which can lie very well in Port Royal harbour. Commodore Gillou and Capt. Joynes are here, and would both go willingly as volunteers on board of such a fleet. I am dear sir, affectionately yours.

RA. IZARD."

LETTERS OF EDWARD BRIDGEN.

My dear sir,—I cannot omit by this conveyance to relate a circumstance to you as a caution.

A friend of yours (whom to my knowledge I never saw) while I was at Bath, in April, called and enquired for me; the servant told him where I was gone. He left a card with his name. Mr. J. T***** No. 6, Broad-street, Carnaby market. Underneath, with a pencil, *for an* intimate friend of Mr. B., at Paris. At my return it was delivered me, but not knowing the gentleman I declined visiting him, especially as I had heard some things suspicious of him.

I have lately learnt that he went to a Mr. Wa—n in Craven-street, and asked the loan of £50, as his friend, Mr. B. was at Bath; the gentleman spared him £20. I hear he has been out of town ever since. I imagine he has been the bearer of some of your letters to me, by which means he knew my address. I hear a new ambassador from Spain is coming here. It is a mystery to me; can you unravel it? I wish I could get a *likeness* of Washington, either on paper or metal. If you can procure me one, or of the Pater Patriæ pray do. I have a medal of the latter, but not a likeness. My friend at Versailles will forward it if you have not an opportunity. Adieu, my dear sir.

Yours faithfully,

EDWARD BRIDGEN."

1777.

"LISLE, 4th July 1777.

Dear Sir,—I have often troubled you with pamphlets, under the signature E. B. of London, addressed as this packet is, which I hope you have received, or if not yourself Dr. Franklin or Mr. Deane. I send you two more. Part of the *observations* are very striking and the style singular, but much good matter. I sent from Antwerp a sermon by the Archbishop of York, as a common performance of a son, or rather a father of the church, which, or any other pamphlets which I have sent, may be useful to our friends of the other side the water. I could not possibly make Paris in my tour, or I would certainly have paid my respects to my friends, to whom I send my best wishes, and for their success in the great causes of virtue and liberty. I am setting out for England to-morrow.

Believe me to be my dear sir, your affectionate friend,

EDWARD BRIDGEN."

"LONDON, 5th Aug. 1777.

Many thanks my dear sir, for your last short note ; all your letters were immediately forwarded, but in future be so good when you have a packet to send, to address them to my friend Genet, then he franks to Calais, otherwise the post-master there always charges Mr. Garnier with the postage ; however, single letters, which require despatch, be pleased to continue sending to Caffriri as usual ; tell your brother I took care of his letter.

As to news, we have none certain ; there is a _____ that Lord Chatham is to come in, and the present managers to continue, and he is to enforce the obedience of the colonies. Poor old man ! I am most sincerely grieved to think the destruction of mankind is to be continued. Poor old England !

Poor Lord Shelburne ! he yesterday received an express from Dr. Priestley of the death of his youngest and favourite son, a most promising youth, of fourteen years, after only two hours illness. I feel for a father almost distracted, and I feel for the public weal, whose loss will be great at this critical moment, by his absence.

SAIT CHARLES'S MARTYRDON, 78.

This accompanies a noble packet of Debalco from our friend J——.”

“ LONDON, August 29th, 1777.

Absence from London, in Suffolk, is the reason of my not acknowledging the receipt of your favour earlier ; it was conveyed to me in the country, after its arrival on the 14th here.—I sent and ordered the paper to be regularly taken in ; three of them were sent last Tuesday, by the post, to Versailles, and I hope you have received them safe. This goes by the same conveyance. When I write to you it goes by the ambassador's courier, which will also be attended with the Monday and Wednesday's packet, but as it is published however, not delivered until late, I shall for the future put you to the charge of postage on a Friday, to save my servant the trouble of going to Whitehall in an evening. This I send long before the packet is published, so that you will by this plan have the Tuesday's paper by the post earlier than the two preceding ones. If you do not approve of this mode tell me freely, and your future direction shall be followed.

The letters you enclosed were delivered as all others you shall entrust to my care, but you may seal your letters to me, if you please ; and pray my dear sir, send me some good news, at least a true state of things, for that we do not get here.

The A——r yesterday told me he thought there must have been treachery in the deserting Ticonde-roga. I had much rather it was owing to that than cowardice, and I have no doubt but by Christmas Washington will balance the account with Howe, but pray do not omit sending me the best information you are able. It is necessary I think to keep up the Am——r's spirits, and he does me the honour to con-verse very freely on the subject; he is very clever, and has great credit at home. The Swedish minister, Baron Walken, I frequently meet at Whitehall. He is a spy for our government here, as well as for his own master ; he is a shrewd fellow.

The pamphlets I sent you are at your service, but that of the good Dr. Price was a present from himself to you.

Mrs. B. is pure gold without one grain of alloy ; she desires her best respects, and joins me in regards to the venerable doctor, who I am glad to hear is so well. God preserve him and you. If the old man is returned tell him I am much his, and that Mrs. Lee was well this morning, from whom I have sent a large packet of papers by this conveyance.

Now my dear sir, in great haste, I bid you adieu.
E. B.

Dr. Price is at Norwich or in its neighbourhood still.

I know not, my dear sir, whether I may yet address *you* as your excellency ; therefore I beg your permission to use a word of more import, viz. my friend. As such give me leave to introduce to your acquaintance Monsieur Garnier, the secretary to the French embassy at this court. A gentleman, who from a long and great intimacy, I can say is a man of the strictest honour.

He wishes to be known to you and the other dele-gates. I have taken the same liberty with his excellency (for I suppose he must now assume that title)

Mr. Franklin, but as I have not the honour to be known to Mr. Deane, I cannot take that liberty.

Every civility and attention you pay Mr. Garnier I shall esteem as done to myself. He can give you a full account of my Patty, who says every thing that is respectful.

Till now I never wished the age of man lengthened; but the extension of the life of your Pater Patriæ seems necessary, I was going to say, should be equal to that of Nestor. He does not know how much I revere him, nor can you guess how much I am yours.

Pray where are your brother and Mr. Sayre now?

EDWARD BRIDGEN."

"March 18th, 1778.

You will find my dear sir, by the attendant newspaper, that I have received your favour of the 11th, as well as the former one.

Notwithstanding what you said in your two former letters, directing me not to send any more newspapers, I thought things were not in such a situation but through the hands of my friend at Versailles you would get them, until the other day I had a letter from him, desiring me to send no more, unless it was paragraphs, &c.; that cannot be done by debates, so now obey your orders under the cover to Mr. Gerard; but I fear this will be the last, as the ambassador is going, and Mr. Garnier conveys this to the other side, by whom I have taken the liberty to write to you and your Pater Patriæ as my intimate friends, who can answer all questions about me and mine. I expect we shall be weak enough to declare war against France; therefore be pleased, until the ambassador or Mr. Garnier returns to this country, if you don't write in the blind style, for the present to address your letters to me under A. Monsieur, Mons. J. B. Hermans au Bureau de la Poste à Anvers, addressed to Bridgen & Waller a Londres, with a small b under the seal. Now my

dear friend, may I beg the favour of you to cut my name off the letter I send you by Mr. Garnier, also to beg the same favour of the good Dr., or else to commit them both to the flames? this favour I ask, as we are all mortal. Adieu,

Ever yours,

EDWARD BRIDGEN."

"April 29th, 1778.

Though I have nothing to inform you worthy notice, yet I would not let the ambassador's servants go, without a line to you, my dear sir. You said in one of your last letters, that you returned Dr. Price your thanks for the books he was so good to send you. I do not think they are due to him on that score, for they were intended for the *Pater Patriæ*, and you will excuse me if I only call you the *Amicus Patriæ*; so be so good to send them to that worthy. The cover was marked Dr. F.

The commissioners sailed the 21st; and they say Gov. Johnstone carries with him a suspension of the Canada act, by what authority I am at a loss to know. Government or its rumourers assert that the main-stay of the mainmast of the Trident was near cut through, and the captain found it out time enough to repair it before she sailed. I suppose it was done by the ghost of John the painter. I send for you Mr. Israel Mauduit's immaculate performance, and Mr. Cartwright's letter to Lord Abingdon, both of which perhaps you have seen; if not, they will amuse you, and therefore I beg your acceptance of them.

I have not been so happy as to receive a line from you since Mr. Garnier went away; pray have you seen that gentleman?

No news here, but bankruptcies in plenty.

The king returned yesterday morning at 2 o'clock, from his tour to Chatham, where the shipwrights in

full chorus sang, ‘*God save great George our King,*’ &c. Now my dear sir, would you imagine this was a proper article to be inserted in the London Gazette, to be sent to all the courts in Europe? but last night it actually appeared in that immaculate paper.

The present toast among the friends of liberty here is, *Permanency to all independent states.*

Do write as soon as you can, and give me some hints.

Yours most truly,

EDWARD BRIDGEN.

N. B. Mauduit’s pamphlet not to be forgot.”

LETTERS OF EDMUND JENNINGS.

“September 27th, 1777.

Dear Sir,—Your friend received a letter from you some time ago, wherein an offer was made to him of a most flattering nature; his answer showing his disposition on the subject, has it is supposed been received. For my part, I have not received a line from any of my acquaintance from your side of the water for a great while, although I have been promised many.

By G. G., whom I did not see, I hear that there is great misunderstandings; I had heard of them before. Let me entreat you to do every thing in your power to restore the ancient necessary harmony. Your trade will suffer without a mutual confidence; your disposition and capacity to promote the general interest I can answer for. Talk freely to G. G. You will find him manly, and a hearty well wisher. Do for God’s sake return to one another. Your general interests certainly require it. I am miserable on the subject; let me hear a pleasing account of your affairs. You shall hear from me by another opportunity, and soon. Did you receive some pamphlets some time

ago? Parliament meets the middle of November. It is supposed that some news has arrived within a day or two; the courtiers are depressed, and stocks are heavy. We expect to hear the rebels are totally ruined.

I am dear sir, yours most sincerely,

GEORGE HARRISON.

Pray deliver the enclosed."

"Dear Sir,—You were written to about a week ago, and a copy enclosed of a letter to C——; forgive my earnestness on this subject, and if possible forget what is past. As it is dangerous to meddle with politics, I send you the London Gazette; it contains the authorised lies of the day, and something more.

I am dear sir, yours most faithfully,

JOHN BOURGENVILLE."

"Dear Sir,—There has nothing material happened since you were last addressed. We are making every preparation in our power for self-defence, for the miseries which have been brought on others seem to be falling on ourselves. The minister is gone to the mouth of the Thames, to see the ship Victory, for he has had nothing to please him of late, but the name of it. I do not know whether you have a collection of treaties, published by Almer; if you have not, the bearer hereof will present them to you. If you think they may be of use to any of your friends, I will send other sets over. Pray let me know the best method of conveying a box of books on your side. There will be much scribbling among the commissioners to convince the Americans that it will be their interest and honour to become dependent again on the most corrupt people on the face of the earth, and although they themselves cannot, and the neighbouring nations will not support their rights so well as the immacu-

late ——, Gov. Johnson has taken with him as secretary the famous Ferguson, to carry on their literary war, when the other has proved unsuccessful; but if these doughty pen champions do succeed, they must succeed against Common Sense.

Your friend does not, I believe, quite understand your direction, '(when necessary) by the way of Ostend.'

Dear sir I am yours,

DONALD McGREGOR.

April 26th, 1778.

The bearer is desirous of being under your protection."

" Dear Sir,—Many letters have been written to you about an unhappy misunderstanding, but as it is feared that the subject is disagreeable, no more shall be said of it. It is however desired to be known whether you received in a letter to you a copy of one to the other party, the original, it is found, did not come to hand. There have been sent you, by a private hand, various news-papers, which will inform you of the public transactions, which I think are of that nature as to give you a more perfect contempt and abhorrence of ——. You will see that there is not a single one here to be depended on; the veneration I once had for the great man who once preserved this people from shame and ruin is much altered. He seems to have altered the great principles which demanded our praise and admiration. He has my gratitude however for what he has done; my future confidence is gone. He joins in the cry of supremacy, and has given the public papers a great advantage over him and justice. His idea of supremacy is indeed so qualified, that it extends to little but to trade, but as the right of supremacy according to the present sophisticated policy goes to every thing, he

that allows it in one thing allows it in all, and being so allowed, what signifies his proposed amendment of the address of establishing *fundamental* laws for the security and content of the Americans. In this case there can be no fundamental laws ; fundamental laws cannot exist but in agreements between people of acknowledged independency of each other. As to the irrevocable laws, which is likewise proposed to give satisfaction, the absurdity of the idea is too great for delusion, but is sufficient to mark an approaching dotage in him who has suggested it. Trust not any one here ; they are all playing, you well know, their own game ; this idea of supremacy is thrown out merely to get themselves in place ; a greater offence to honour and injury to virtue cannot be done than by these means, and yet it is pretended that this is the only way to serve both. The possession of the reins of government will give them, it is said, power and opportunity to trim the unsound and foundered beasts as may be thought proper ; but in truth nothing more is meant than to turn them to their private purposes. The language of a certain discourse, which has been sent you, has every ingredient of pride and meanness, of insolence and deception ; and will be followed by actions partaking of all the qualities of them. A great increase of forces will be made, and yet, at the same time, I am sure terms will be offered in an underhanded manner, and something will be done openly ; but nothing will be done in a manly way, and therefore nothing can be trusted to. It is not improbable that the great men alluded to above may be taken into place for two purposes ; to bully the French and dupe the Americans ; the scheme is however too flimsy and too late for the end. Your friend is talked of, with a view to co-operate with him, and therefore be cautious. We have no news here but what comes from Boston papers, which have passed through the place of your residence, and therefore not unknown

to you ; a ship arrived yesterday from Quebec, but as nothing has transpired, it is probable that there is not any that is called good news. We are still callous as ever, and justify the most atrocious actions by the word parliament, and the goodness of God and nature. Haldimand is sent to the Swiss Cantons to hire troops; *ten ships of the line sailed ten days ago to the coast of France*; we shall, I think hear of their actions soon. They may be important and decisive. The ship supposed to have arrived from Quebec came from Augustine; communicate this to Mr. Waters.

I am yours most faithfully,

JOHN TOWNSEND."

"Dec. 5th, 1777.

Dear Sir,—The last mail gave you an account of Gen. Howe's brilliant successes, which one would have thought must have animated every subject truly loyal, but there was something about them, on their very face, that cast a damp on every one ; but, besides this, the most woful news imaginable was shown to us in the secret, sufficient to make us tremble, not for the public but ourselves. In short, Burgoyne is defeated, and his whole corps made prisoners. Some say to be sent in general to England on their parole not to bear arms against America during the war ; others that this only extends to officers, and that the men are to be prisoners of war in confinement ; £70,000 is taken and all their stores. The principal action was on the 7th of October, and the capitulation on the 16th ; it was reported that Frazer and Arnold fell in a preceding engagement ; Frazer is killed, but it is not sure that Arnold is. The news comes from Carlton, who had it from deserters and Indians. There are letters from Howe's army and Gen. Keene to the same import.

In an attack on one of the forts on the —, the Hessians lost 6 or 700 men, of which the Gazette

gives no account ; 300 more Hessians are said to be lost in the blowing up of the Augusta 64 ship, set on fire by the rafts. Mud Island fort was not taken when Howe sent his despatches. Washington has returned to German Town, and Howe is fortifying himself as much as possible in Philadelphia. *Washington gave him a feu de joie, on the news of Burgoyne's defeat* ; it is said too that Gen. Vaughan with a party of 2000 men going up the North river are taken prisoners.

What dreadful news ! I know how it will affect you. I beg you will take care that enemies of government do not make it worse than it is ; you cannot be too watchful of the rebels. It is well known how busy they are ; news of this sort coming at this time where you are, may have the greatest consequence. There were about forty rebels confined at Portsmouth, who attempted to make their escape ; four of them have been shot dead, and nineteen have escaped. We are likely to be warmly pushed in parliament ; all the parties of the ministry are united on this miscarriage —— have attacked us warmly. Our friend Lord G. G. in particular, seems to be aimed at most violently, but you know his friendship ; it has been tried in a signal manner. You were written to by the last mail, and a number of news-papers sent by a private hand ; let me know whether you have received them, and several letters which have been lately written. I will trouble you no more about an unhappy misunderstanding. If I should have to write to your —— friend. Should he not hear from me remember me to him and his best friend.

I am dear sir, yours most faithfully,

J. TOWNSEND."

" Dec. 2, 1777.

Dear Sir,—Gen. Howe's Aid de Camp arrived yesterday with accounts from the army and navy, since going up the Chesapeak, to the 21st of Oc-

tober. The Gazette containing the account is of three sheets, stuffed as usual with various circumstances of this and that, of no importance, but which amuses us the friends of government greatly. I would have sent you one, but I am told they will not come out for the public until 12 o'clock ; the affair of the 11th you have seen a better account of in the Boston paper ; the action itself does not seem to have been very favourable to *us of government*, but there is great parade of difficulty and courage in every part of it. Wilmington was afterwards taken possession of, being abandoned ; on the 25th or 26th, Philadelphia was occupied by Cornwallis, and on the 4th of Oct. Washington attacked Howe and made an impression at first, but at length retreated, and is now about twenty miles from Howe, in the road to Lancaster. Gen. Vaughan landed at Elizabethtown, another place in Jersey, and seized a quantity of cattle in September. Gen. Dunop, and a corps of Hessian Chasseurs are taken prisoners ; the general is wounded. Clinton and Wallace went up the North river to make a diversion in favour of Burgoyne ; have broke the Boom, taken Fort Montgomery and Clinton and burnt Esopus. Admiral Howe's fleet have left the Chesapeak and gone to the Delaware, where they have destroyed some of the forts which guarded the *chevaux de frize*, and opened a passage at a place or two. I do not recollect whether this business is effectual. The Augusta, of 62 guns, and the Merlin sloop are lost ; two continental frigates were taken there. There is a detail of English officers and men killed and wounded, but it was impossible to get at the numbers in the hurry I was in whilst reading. There is no account of the numbers of the Americans lost in the whole ; perhaps neither could be well depended on. Gen Agnes, Col. Mungo Campbell, and Major Sill are killed on the king's side ; Gen. Smallwood on the side of the rebels. Howe desires to have 5000 regi-

mentals to be sent for the Americans, but there is no account of men coming in. It was said in Lord G. G.'s office that Baltimore was burnt, but no mention is made of it in the Gazette, nor one word of Burgoyne. I know not how this affair will affect you, but our friends about St. James' are much down at the mouth. The stocks rose yesterday morning, but fell again. I beg to know whether you have received a letter lately; many have been sent not acknowledged. Remember me to your particular friend and his dear relation.

I am dear sir, yours most faithfully,

JOHN TOWNSEND.

P. S. Gen. Howe has lost an extraordinary number of officers, which shows perhaps, the men were not very forward. There is something in this business very unfavourable to us here, which time must discover."

" October 1777.

Dear Sir,—Your obliging letter, expressing your esteem for and good opinion of me, has been duly acknowledged. Your kind offer of putting me in a proper way of being serviceable to the general interests, was accepted, with that sense of friendship in which it was made. I have heard of several appointments since, all of which will, I hope, conduce to the promotion of the common cause. It is a noble one, and worthy of the utmost exertions.

You will I trust forgive the liberty I took in earnestly recommending to your esteem my friend Mr. Carmichael. I do so again with more warmth, since I have heard of some misunderstanding between you. I know you both, and am confident that both wish equally well to their country. You were old collegians together. I was the means of the renewal of your former intimacy, and the services of both are necessary for the common good. Do my dear sir,

take him cordially by the hand; keep him in Europe if you can, and I am sure you will have a friendship for him.

We are waiting in expectation of news from America; we are sure here it must be good, and therefore are not contented with the old adage of, no news being good news; we are here at war not only with America, but even with philosophy. The great minded personage at the head of the pack has found out a plot, and having always foreseen the independency of the colonies, now sees the deep laid schemes of Dr. Franklin to bring down on him and his family the lightnings of Heaven, as he will certainly do the thunders of Europe. There is something in this procedure that shows the qualities of the heart more than any thing else. It is an event that will mark the character of the times to future generations.

I am dear sir, yours most faithfully,

JOHN HARRIS.

P. S. I must beg the favour of you to deliver the enclosed with care."

" Dec. 22d, 1777.

Dear Sir,—Your friend is much obliged to you for the note given him of the late important transaction. It had been heard of before, but the confirmation renewed the general transport; for all here were transported one way or other. We shall carry on the war as vigorously as ever, for we talk as high. However, terms of an apparently amicable nature are to be offered, whilst the country is to be more inflamed if possible than ever. No one here except those in the secret of affairs, know what they are, and probably will not; but you at a distance will I think have them communicated to you, for it is thought your sense of them must be taken, before they are proposed to the sense of the nation in parliament assembled. The loyal

town of Manchester having offered to raise a regiment in our support, the rebellious village of London intend to follow the example so nobly set. The militia is to be embodied in part for garrison duty. We are greatly embarrassed, but still depend on a great chapter in the book of ministers, the chapter of accidents. Give me leave to recommend Mr. Stephenson to your notice ; his conduct at Bristol has made him obnoxious to the worst men there, who have injured him. I have recommended him to your brother for his mercantile knowledge, which he will apply for the public service either here or abroad. *May God bless us.*

I am dear sir, yours most faithfully,

C. TOWNSEND.

P. S. A subscription is to be opened here for the relief of the rebels in prison ; it will be countenanced by respectable people. We have heard of an application to the minister on their behalf by _____. Wilkes intends to move the declaration of American independency."

" Sept. 1st, 1777.

Dear Sir,—Your favour of the 20th of July was received with the greatest pleasure last week. I had heard of you frequently before hearing from you, and to be favoured in such a manner, affords a double satisfaction. I am rejoiced to find that your affairs are in such a prosperous way. Your antagonists are tired of their law-suit ; the expense is great, and the uncertainty of being put to it, has made the whole family uneasy ; it will learn them I hope the virtue of contentment with a little ; they are however very uppish, as is their nature, on their gaining their late interlocutory, and are in great expectation of the ensuing term. I think they are inclined to a compromise. Can it be brought about ? I mentioned to your friend your opinion of him. He thanks you for it, and is rea-

dy to do any service to his family that is in his power. He has lately been to settle some affairs near Portsmouth, but could not do so much as he could wish; there are about 120, they complain of great hardships, and are full of resentment. You will I hope soon hear of some of them.

The gentleman who will deliver you this will inform you of some particulars relative to himself and twenty others of his friends, worthy of attention.

We talk here of more bloody work this summer; Lord Howe has declared he will *bleed* the rebels. He wrote some time ago, that he should go up the Chesapeake. It is now said he was seen off Block Island. Perhaps he has divided his force for different purposes. Our amiable monarch is the happiest man alive. He triumphs in Burgoyne's success at Ticonderoga. However, so many were not killed as were expected.

The distress in the city increases visibly every day, the want of money is evident to all, every body sees public and private ruin staring them in the face. Nothing can comfort us but the destruction of the Americans.

I am dear sir, yours,

ROBERT WILLIAMS."

"Dear Sir,—Your letters to Mr. George Harrison are received. He thanks you for them, and will answer them by the first opportunity.

Give me leave to thank you in the warmest manner for the confidence you repose in me, in entering so fully into the present misunderstanding,* which has given me much uneasiness. It has troubled me so much and still continues to do so, that I cannot help repeating my most earnest exhortations that it may be fully and cordially adjusted to your mutual satisfac-

* This relates to the misunderstanding between Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee.

tion, interest, and honour. The knowledge that I have of both convinces me that if this unhappy affair was once forgotten between you, the abilities and disposition of both are such as to be of the greatest advantage to the general cause, and to your mutual interests. Let me beg you to try to obliterate all past transactions. I will assure you that you will find Mr. C. inclined to receive or make advances to reconciliation. He writes me that when he desired an explanation, it was an advance to reunion. His present disposition may be judged of by the following extract from his last letter. 'I am under great obligations to you for the interest you take in all that concerns me, and you may depend upon it there is nothing consistent with my honour that I will not do to comply with your request.' Point out a method of the restoration of harmony and blame me if I do not be the first to advance towards it. Can any thing, my friend, show a more friendly disposition; let me entreat you to close with it, and give and receive from each other those instances of firm union and cordiality that strengthens business and increases the pleasures of life.

Yours faithfully and sincerely,

G. HARRISON.

This post conveys a letter to this purport.

Your favour of the 4th instant is received, which afforded a mixture of pain and pleasure, but the pleasure was predominant, as I find a disposition in one of the parties to reconciliation, which I think is a presage to me that the other will soon have the same. I am sure he will if I have any influence with him. I shall write particularly to him on that subject by this post. If I was with you I would labour hard to bring you together, that you, who are both so well qualified to act in the present great business, might

heartily and cordially connect yourselves fast to each other. I think you might easily support and assist each other better than any two that I know. At this distance I cannot, I am afraid, break the ice, and that alone is, I hope, wanted between you. I wish one of you would in a manly way attempt it. I think I see in you a concern that matters have gone so far; acknowledge that concern in that open manner, to which your heart is naturally inclined, and I trust it will have the desired effect. I thank you heartily for your confidence in me; I have reason to thank the other party for showing an equal degree of trust. I am honoured by both, and would willingly secure the honour of both, and I think the honour of both may be secured, and I am sure this mutual happiness may by a cordial reconciliation. I will trust to your present disposition, and rest in the certainty of hearing soon that all differences are amicably adjusted and forgotten."

" My Dear Nephew,—As you will soon set up in business for yourself, it is necessary I should give you one piece of advice. Be careful of trusting to any one too much; there was ever much deceit in the world, but deceit was never so abundant as at the present time. There are secrets in all trades, which must be kept ever from your foreman and people about you, particularly those which may be entrusted to you by any of your correspondents, whose names ought not to be ever mentioned by you, as it may give occasion to the inquisitive to be very troublesome. There is I am told great probability of obtaining for you a valuable correspondent in Holland, who will give you the earliest account of the publications there, should he choose to enter into particulars with you. Examine your patrimony, and let me know whether you can advance in the course of the year 1000 or £1200; his knowledge, extensive acquaintance and adroitness

are such as may make that sum turn to good account. Let your friend Townsend hear from you on this subject as soon as possible. Let your friend MacGregor know your form and mode of drawing your bills, and the new method of keeping your shop books, that he may pay attention to them. When you enter into business let nothing take you from it. Expect not to grow rich all at once. That wish may lead you from your true interest and honour. There are many now who are suspected to have left their honest callings and plunged into all the mysteries and ingenuity of stock-jobbing. This unhappy American affair has made more stock-jobbers than patriots or good tradesmen. What have we to do with the Toulon squadron ; yet some here who pretend to have received advices from the other side of the water, insist that the Toulon squadron has not passed the gut of Gibraltar, and are making their speculations in the alleys accordingly ; the chief person who it is said propagates this story is one Walpole. Be it so; why should tradesmen be taking advantage of such events. I would not trust such tradesmen ; should this be a trick of the rebels, for I am told the report comes from their quarter, the design is obviously to check the vigorous exertion of our force, and this must affect the character of a friend of his country. A great Virginia house of the name of Moll—n is said to have stopped last Saturday ; it is supposed that instead of carrying on his mercantile business, he had commenced politician, and ruined thereby the fairest prospects. This ought to be a warning to all such.

You will be glad nevertheless to hear the common reports of the day. This may be done innocently, provided they do not engross our thoughts. Burg—is here, and is to have a board of enquiry into his conduct. He was at the house yesterday, but no notice taken of him. We have taken after a smart engagement, a French ship or two on our coasts. This

it is supposed will bring on an immediate war. The rebel Jones alarmed our friends about Whitehaven ; the action was spirited, for it was well planned ; in the execution however it failed of all its objects ; as we find from a copy of the instructions which were given by B. Franklin; we have had them here about a fortnight, they are much admired for their judgment. It is probable we shall get more of the rebel performances, as it is certain we get at their secrets daily. The quarter that brought this information can get us every thing we want. It is said that we have sunk the Alfred and beat off the Raleigh in an engagement off the West Indies ; there are reports too of other rebel privateers being taken and sunk, but they are not much credited. I have seen your friend T——n.

I am dear sir, yours affectionately,

DONALD MAC DONALD.

P. S. In your last you omitted signing your name, and did not tell me who I was to deliver the letter to, which was entrusted to my care ; take care of such."

" May 12th, 1778.

Dear Sir,—Lord Chatham died yesterday morning at 8 o'clock. Col. B. moved the commons that he should be buried at the public expense. Rigby objected, and thought that a monument erected to his honour would be better. Dunning was of opinion that both ought to be done, and moved an amendment accordingly, which was unanimously agreed to. Mr. Pultney moved, that the houses should be directed to attend the funeral, but withdrew his motion on the suggestion it would be better that every thing should appear *voluntary*.

I have reason to think your friend Townsend has not been inattentive to a certain matter suggested to him. He has had it long in his thoughts, but the difficulty of breaking such affairs is great ; it has howev-

er been broke to one in the line you wish. But he is such a knave, that Townsend says he cannot trust him, until he gets out of his power. There is another person in a branch of business of great importance, who may be sounded, if he will be concerned ; I know no one that can serve the partnership better. Let Townsend in the mean while be instructed in the mode you refer to of carrying on this transaction, and drawing the bills in such a manner, as not to be counterfeited or discovered.

It is difficult to discover the names of those who have been concerned in the policies and insurances, because nobody appears in them but the Brothers. You have your suspicions I believe as I have mine, that many have been dabbling there, in a most unworthy and shameful manner ; real good traders are always above such transactions that may bring a man's integrity in question.

The Rider and his companion are returned ; I fancy much out of humour. I have not seen the principal, but if I may judge from the language of the foreman, their self-importance is much lowered. However short sighted in the nature of trade, they seem to insinuate that those with whom they have had transactions are more so, and that they can do their business better than they themselves can do ; and yet I am told the principal intends speaking to the foreman of the rival house to admit of an independent trade, and as the only means of carrying any trade on, or even supporting life.

The king is just returned from Portsmouth, well pleased with his expedition ; the nation however in general is much dissatisfied. The squadron that ought to be pursuing the Toulon ships are still in harbour, with the wind W. and S. W.

We report here, that the Canada expedition is laid aside ; that Howe is returned to Staten Island ; and that Gen. Clinton's wound having broke out afresh,

he is in so bad a way as to make Howe's staying necessary. The Ranger privateer has alarmed our coasts in Scotland, and near Whitehaven; and another vessel having landed on the Isle of Anglesea makes us think, if we do not kill them they will kill us.

As we find it necessary to use Ireland in a very different manner than formerly, three or four bills have been brought in to give it some relief; but the true born Englishman and downright Scotchman oppose the measure strenuously; all mankind being born, as they think, for their use and emolument. It is said, only one of the bills will pass, relative to the West India islands; in consequence both people will be dissatisfied, the one that any thing has been done, and the other that more has not been done.

I am dear sir, your faithful humble servant,

MALCOLM DERIMPLE.

If you can employ £5000 for me in the American trade, I shall be obliged to you."

"Dear Sir,—I beg leave to recommend to you my nephew, who proposes to make the best of his way to visit his native land; for that purpose inform him whether he is likely to have soon any good opportunity. He will not stay above a day or two at Paris, but go directly to Nantes, and wait thereabouts until his embarkation. The gentleman who accompanies him is an inhabitant of Nantes, who has been here some time to learn the language. He is ambitious of being known to you.

I have reason to think your particular friend proposes to see you in the course of next month; however, if he can be of more service here, inform him.

We are under the greatest anxiety about the event of the meeting of the two fleets. By last accounts they were in sight. The French being to the windward, and therefore having the choice of battle. Our stocks rose on the certainty of conquest.

I have seen a letter from commissioner Eden, which, though written in the familiar style and character, showed evident marks of political despondency. He is in rapture with the little of the country which he has seen, *which he thinks* is too noble a one to be *lost*, either by *mischance or misconduct*.

I am dear sir, yours most sincerely,

JOHN PRINGLE.”

“ BRUSSELS, Feb. 22d, 1780.

My Dear Sir,—Immediately on the receipt of yours I wrote to my intelligent correspondent. He answered me yesterday, that the expedition from Ireland is supposed *to be for the West Indies*, but that Washington’s ships are not yet ready. He tells me too, that Russia is to be bribed by a great part of the money gained from the East India company, to enter into a treaty defensive and offensive; that advances are made therein, and that indeed it is nearly concluded; but that she will first endeavour to bring about a peace. You perhaps know more of these matters than I do.

As you have not given me Mr. Adams’s address, I trouble you to present him the enclosed. Give me timely notice of your departure. I received yesterday a court calendar from our good friend for you. I will send it by the first opportunity. How do you find things?

I am dear sir, yours most sincerely,

DONALD MAC DONALD.”

“ October 3d, 1778.

Dear Sir,—I have received your two favours by the posts of yesterday and to-day. I have forwarded the latter to our friend. In asking whether I think the pamphlet will or can do any good, you put a very serious and nice question. I am not so desperate of our present calamitous situation as to conceive, that it is

impossible for the efforts of honest, sensible, and well intentioned men, (and such I trust we still have among us) to do good. But I am persuaded that nothing of this kind can have any effect, unless not only the whole system of acting in the country, but the whole tenor of our feelings as men and citizens, be thoroughly and fundamentally changed. The pamphlet goes a great way towards stating the necessity of this change, and points out with great force and good sense the only line to be pursued, viz:—an *immediate, open, unconditional acknowledgment of the independence of America.* Whether the commissioners at Paris have authority to agree in the first instance with Great Britain on the terms mentioned, and to guaranty the important articles which are proposed to be insisted, &c., is much to be doubted. I think they have not, and that there are some of them to which America will never subscribe; she will never give up to Great Britain the exclusive commerce to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, or to the westward of Cape Horn, much less will she cut off herself by express treaty from any share in the Newfoundland fishery, which lying as it were at her own door, she will consider as designed for her by nature. The most that Great Britain can expect on the former article, is a tacit acquiescence on the part of America; and as to the latter, she is more likely to demand a formal renunciation of the fisheries from Great Britain, than make it herself to Great Britain. As to the African trade, it has been checked by many of the colonies voluntarily, long before the commencement of the present disputes; and the course of agriculture in many of them where negroes were heretofore most in request, joined to the temper of the people in general, has decided against the encouragement of that branch of commerce. The light in which the West India trade will be considered by the Americans, cannot be more strongly painted than in the pamphlet.

However on the whole, whether the powers of the commissioners are equal to the momentous points suggested in the pamphlet or not, or whether the points themselves are admissible on the part of America or not, this happy consequence must flow from the trial proposed to be made by the acknowledgment of American independence, that the claims of Great Britain thus ceasing, the apprehensions of America from that quarter must likewise be at an end. A treaty may be opened, whether here or in America it matters not, by equal parties; and equality with parties is essential to every treaty that professes to have permanency and the good of both parties for its object. I hope however, notwithstanding these trivial objections, I have said enough to show that I highly approve of the main drift of the pamphlet, and that I shall be anxious to see it published, with many thanks for the kind communication.

W. B."

"Whether thy days be many or few may they be happy and successful. This is the wish of thy sincere friend instead of what the world call the compliments of the season. Thou knowest I am a plain man, and I would fain be an honest one; but dangers are sown so thick around me, that it will indeed be a great blessing if I escape.

I refer thee to the news-papers for the particular trial of honest Keppel. I think thy friend Hood has kept bad company; since thou left us his character is a *little* tarnished, and I will not answer for that man's.

Next month we expect news from the West Indies. If thou hearest any that is good for this country I pray thee to favour us with it.

Our Martha salutes thee kindly, with, my dear friend, thine affectionately,

G. JOHNSTONE."

APPENDIX VIII.

Letters of Arthur Lee to his American Correspondents, written during his residence in France.

"Dec. 25th, 1776.

To Richard Henry Lee, Esq.

IT was with infinite pleasure I received my dear brother's letter by the hands of Dr. Franklin, whom I joined at this place on the 22d Dec. the day after his arrival. We have had an audience, been received, and presented our propositions. As yet we have received no answer, nor can we divine what it will be. They are very timid and secret, but we have hopes. In the mean time we are endeavouring to procure artillery, arms, ammunition, and clothing to fit you for another campaign, which, if it be as undecisive as this, will nearly exhaust the enemy's strength. Two things, however, I would wish to impress upon your minds ; to look forward and prepare for the worst event, and to search for every resource within yourselves, so as to have as little external dependence as possible. The events of the year 1777 are of such infinite importance, that no industry and no expense can be too great to turn them to our advantage. If they are decidedly in our favour, our liberties and properties will be assured forever.

I have sent for your sons hither. I mean to keep Ludwell with me, and if his genius suits to train him to arms, chiefly in the engineering line. Tom I will send to you with our despatches, when they are of importance. He is now of an age to be useful to you in Virginia, from whence your absence must greatly damage your affairs.

Yours affectionately,

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, Sept. 9th, 1777.

Samuel Adams, Esq.

Dear Sir,—It is three months since we received a line from congress or from any of our friends. You will hear but too soon and too much of the violent things done in this country agaist us and in favour of our enemies. This is owing to the privateering schemes carried on at Dunkirk, without the advice of Dr. Franklin or myself, and contrary to repeated requests of this court. We are labouring to pacify and restore things to their former state of confidence and amity.

My absence in Spain and Germany upon public business has prevented me from getting such an insight into the cabinet here, as to judge with certainty what line they are determined to pursue. We have undoubtedly enemies there, and the late ill conduct at Dunkirk has given them great advantage. Still however they are arming, and it is so much their interest to be allied with us, that the sacrifices they have lately made to England, and to which they have been in a great measure compelled by our arming vessels in their ports to cruise upon the English in violation of their treaties, may be imputed to necessity not to inclination.

I am dear sir, yours very truly,

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, Oct. 4th, 1777.

Samuel Adams, Esq., Member of Congress.

Dear Sir,—Your favour of the 4th of July was like all those I have been used to receive from you, exceedingly comforting to me. It is with great pleasure I find that what the appearance of things in January last made me apprehend, has not happened. Our present situation, (notwithstanding I think both Howe and Burgoyne will be successful for some time

after their attacks commence) seems to me more favourable than ever; and without some signal misfortune befalling our friends, from the honest endeavours of our amicable friends the Quakers, the independence of America will soon have its foundation established on a rock. It will be more to our honour that this be done by our own efforts without allies, which in my judgment we shall not procure till we have less occasion for them; and perhaps the liberties established through labour and endurance will be more prized and more durable than if acquired by foreign interposition. Certain however it is, that the appearances here are so equivocal that no one can tell how long that peace, on the continuance of which our enemies build all their hopes, will last. Let us however suppose, what is most probable, that the politics of Europe will continue to wear that dubious aspect, which promises peace to-day and menaces war to-morrow, and then survey the present situation of this contest. The difficulties our enemies are under in forming a probable plan for the supplies of the ensuing year, both in men and money, are to all human appearance insuperable. There is not, therefore, any reason to apprehend that their armies will ever again be so numerous or so well appointed as those which now assail us. Should their success be neither decisive nor signal, their future efforts can only be those of disappointed vengeance, in acts of injury and irritation, such as marked their parting steps in the unhappy Jerseys. By these means they will endeavour to harass us into an accommodation, and extricate themselves as well as they can out of the *mauvaise* position into which their folly and injustice have committed them.

The measures of this court which look like war, are a treaty lately made with the Swiss Cantons, by which they are to be supplied with 6,000 more Swiss troops if wanted, and the sending 8,000 men with 12,000

artillery to their West India islands. Every power in Europe has also forbade their sailors entering into any foreign service whatever, so much do they expect a general war. Great part of the English commerce is already carried on in French and Dutch bottoms, which circumstance alone will prevent them from continuing the war, because it is a mortal blow to their marine. From these circumstances we may conclude that the present effort is the last that can carry with it any hope of conquest, and that the war can hardly continue in any shape two years longer. There are of our countrymen who think a longer continuance would be of service in rousing us to exertion and discovering resources which in peace would never be opened. But for my part I think the spirit of adventure and energy, which characterizes our countrymen, wants no such stimulus, and therefore we should be happy in finishing a war with honour, which inevitably brings with it a variety of evils, *among which a standing army is not least to be apprehended.*

I have within this year been at the several courts of Spain, Vienna, and Berlin, and I find this of France is the great wheel that moves them all. Here therefore the most activity is requisite; and if it should ever be a question in congress about my destination, I shall be much obliged to you for remembering, that I should prefer being at the court of France.

Upon the whole then my dear friend, I trust we may congratulate ourselves upon the liberties of our country having triumphed over the greatest malice of our enemies; whom perhaps, we ought to thank for having taught us to know ourselves, and to assume that rank among the independent nations of the earth, to which we are entitled.

I remember Mr. Marchant with great respect, and am happy to hear his abilities are called forth into the most conspicuous service of his country. Be so good as to present to him my best regards. It

gives me the greatest pleasure to find an old acquaintance maintaining in this day of trial, the virtuous principles he professed on the first agitation of this question.

In hopes that you will omit no opportunity of letting me hear from you, and with the warmest wishes for your prosperity and happiness, I am my dear friend, most sincerely yours,

ARTHUR LEE.

P. S. I have written you several letters since that you mention as having received."

" PARIS, Oct. 4th, 1777.

R. H. Lee, Member of Congress for Virginia.

Dear Brother,—Your letter of the 31st of May, which I received since that of the 29th of July by Mr. King, gives me much pain. I have within this twelvemonth tried the three monarchs' courts, where we have the most interest to effect what your letter wishes, without succeeding. What grieves me is, that you should think it so essential to our security. Most certain it is, that we should form such a connexion at this time upon very unequal terms; and therefore (if its being postponed does not hazard the great stake till we are apparently less in need of it) we should form it upon ground better weighed, and more advantageous. Were it not for what you say, I should think an open declaration much less necessary for our security now, than at the beginning. Most assuredly our invaders are in every respect much weaker, and we are apparently much stronger. Yet while I make this a virtue of necessity, and comfort myself with thinking, that what we so ardently desire and yet cannot obtain, may not be absolutely necessary, I do most cordially wish the war were at an end. I consider it a state of danger, dissipation, and corruption of manners. As yet I believe the citizen is not quite lost in

the soldier; but this will happen if the war continue. *Next to entire slavery, a standing army is the greatest evil that can exist in a young state;* and the continuance of a civil war, with its probable events, may kindle the fatal ambition of some Cromwell, that would otherwise have slept guiltless of his country's ruin.

The commission for Spain was I presume sent me in a supposition that I was at that court; for of five letters which I wrote between the 8th of March and 9th of April, detailing my proceedings there, and the necessity of my return, not one appears to have been received. That service I undertook, because Dr. F. would not go through such bad roads in so rigorous a season, and Mr. D. excused himself by a proposition of going to Holland, which he never performed. It is of all places the most disagreeable to my disposition; and so very inferior in point of political importance, that I should certainly be of much less utility there than here. There too I should be at a great distance from our brother, from intelligence with you, and from all political conversation; for a degree of indolence reigns there, that is almost inconceivable. My idea therefore of adapting characters and places is this:—Dr. F. to Vienna, as the first, most respectable, and quiet; Mr. Deane to Holland; and the Alderman to Berlin, as the commercial department; Mr. Izard where he is; Mr. Jenings at Madrid, his reserve and circumspection being excellently adapted to that court. I mean Edmund Jenings, whom you know, whose real abilities to serve may be relied on. France remains the centre of political activity, and here therefore I should choose to be employed. All these arrangements might be made, reserving to the three now here their powers, till the opportunity offered for their going to their different destinations; that such an occasion might not be lost, by being obliged to send over for appointments.

This court has lately concluded a treaty with the Swiss Cantons, by which they are to furnish 6000 more Swiss troops to France, should there be a war ; and 8,000 French troops, with 1,200 artillery men, are upon the eve of their departure for their West India islands. All the powers of Europe have forbade their seamen entering into foreign service. These movements look like an expectation of a general war.

When we first obtained 2,000,000 of livres from our friends here, it was determined we should appropriate them to the payment of your bills drawn upon us in support of your funds, should it be necessary. And of this appropriation we informed the committee. But I find that during my absence in Germany, Mr. —— has involved us in engagements far beyond the whole of this fund ; so that should you have drawn upon us we shall be obliged to apply to the same friends to enable us to answer your draughts. In truth it is not fit that in our situation we should meddle with merchandize, which at such a court as this degrades the character of deputies from a great and rising people. Were the commercial agent such a man as he ought to be, this business would properly fall within his department. The last despatches to us, of the 10th or 12th of August, were thrown overboard, as were ours to you on the capture of the Lexington soon after she sailed, and after an engagement of five hours, in which she suffered extremely. Be so good as to remember me to Loudon, and warn him against recommendations of a Mr. Carmichael, through Mr. Lloyd, as I have found him to be very unworthy his or your patronage. We have received late and most positive assurances from our friends in France and Spain, *that what we have hitherto received is given without expectation of any return.* I thank you for the Crisis, which is well written.

I enclose you a copy of a late measure of the court

here, which with others seems unfavourable to us. The reasons they give for them are the proceedings with respect to the arming Conyngham in their ports, and sending him to cruise directly in the channel, contrary to their treaty, and to their repeated requests and our promises. That fact is so, and it was done by Mr. _____ without consulting or informing us. He has therefore thought it necessary to write an apology for it to Mr. Morris, which I understand is to be shown about privately, and he seems desirous of persuading us and others to be in ill humour with the court for taking violent measures, to which they have been compelled by his unwarrantable conduct. All I can say is that it will be doing them great injustice to form an opinion of their disposition from steps which they assure us were taken from necessity, and to which we are conscious those proceedings forced them. The paper I enclose you was made public by authority, in all the commercial cities of France. But you see it acknowledges us as a nation, and openly avows the protection and reception of our commerce, which Great Britain claims as her own, and which Lord Howe, in his letter to Dr. Franklin, alleges to be the reason of carrying on war against us. As to 292 a xxxviii, they continue to be 3456 xxii as usual. Discretion only is required in managing the business, so as not to subject them too much to the complaints of the 1456 xxii. The promises of good will and assistance as heretofore are as strong as ever. Upon the whole we have reason to expect much, though not all that is neither 336 a xxxiv. nor 4166 xix.

Added Nov. 25th, 1777.

I sent you a book by Capt. Wickes, by which we may communicate our thoughts without danger from mischievous curiosity. Lest that should miscarry you have another by this opportunity. Three of the five

commissioners who are here, are of opinion that it is of the last importance to the public credit and welfare, that the commercial agency should be taken out of the hands and the channel they are in at present. We think this would be happily effected by the appointment of Mr. John Lloyd, of South Carolina, now resident at Nantes, of whose ability and integrity we have a high opinion. Mr. Izard will write.

Yours affectionately,

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, Oct. 7th, 1777.

F. L. Lee, Member of Congress for the State of Virginia.

Dear Loudon,—Copies of your letters to Mr. Lloyd, of Maryland, have reached this place to others, but none from you to the alderman or to me. This is a little unkind, especially as we have written frequently to you. By those letters you seem to be in good spirits, which rejoices me. For I see nothing but the want of them, and of funds, which can materially injure the great cause. The regulation and credit of your paper seems to me to require most of your attention, since your funds lean upon it, and if they fail the injury may be irreparable. In truth, till the public is assured you have specie in your treasury your paper will never have due credit. But if the money holders were once satisfied you had there one million of hard dollars, they would not hesitate to lend twenty upon it. This is precisely the case with the bank of England, whose paper certainly exceeds twenty times its specie; and it is with this paper principally that the war is supported against us. But the question is, where are we to get these hard dollars? Send effects to the islands, collect the dollars, and despatch your swiftest sailing frigate to bring them safe. Surely this is not impracticable. And most certainly, without some plan wisely laid and vigorously ex-

ecuted, you will be in great danger of finding your measures for the public defence and security impeded, if not obstructed entirely. It seems to me that we may rely upon the continuance of countenance and support from certain powers in Europe, but that there will be a war soon is not I confess my opinion. Things however are in so critical a situation that it is with great diffidence I give my opinion upon the subject. The circumstances of our enemies are so embarrassed, and their resources so exhausted, that without aids from Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, of which there is at present no likelihood, they cannot support another campaign. I have mentioned to you a cabal formed here under the auspices of Mr. —— which has given me much disquiet, and that he has been very busy to defame me in my absence. I sent you a copy of a news-paper production of this cast. Among other things they have circulated a report both here and in England, which will probably reach America, of dissensions subsisting among the commissioners. I have taken great care to prevent any such from arising, and none certainly have yet existed, notwithstanding all their diligence in provoking them. Among these, gentlemen, I could wish to guard you particularly against Mr. Carmichael, of whose art and enmity I have had sufficient proofs to make me distrust him for the future.

I am, &c., affectionately,

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, Nov. —, 1777.

Samuel Adams, Esq., with a copy of my last.

Dear Sir,—Nothing material since the above. The two last despatches for us were thrown into the sea, so that we are left in the most anxious uncertainty concerning your situation. Our enemies are either in the same state, or their news is not such as they wish to be known; since they suffer not only their own peo-

ple but all Europe, to insult them with enquiries, what is become of Howe and Burgoyne, without condescending to answer a word. At present therefore, both their performances in this, and their preparations for the next campaign, if they have any, are a profound secret. Yet the meeting of parliament, which is to be the 20th, approaches fast, when something must be said on these momentous points. I mentioned in a former letter, that your state was indebted to me for moneys advanced during the time the agency devolved upon me, especially to the captain who was sent express after the affair of Lexington; and that I should prefer being paid by such a grant of land in your state, as would give me the means and right of citizenship among a people whom I have had so much reason to respect, through the whole of this illustrious business. It would be a great satisfaction to know, that when my poor endeavours were no longer necessary to the public service abroad, I might return as a fellow-citizen among those with whom I have so long been united in the common cause. Would to God we could number Warren among them, and that it had been permitted him to see the beauties of that fabric, which he laboured with so much zeal and ability to rear. "*His saltem accumulem, donis, et fungar inani munere.*"

The actual state of Europe, amid events of such magnitude and a situation so critical, is tranquil to a degree that is inexplicable. Whether it be a stillness before the storm, or a settled tranquillity, is hard to determine. I am inclined to think it the latter. For in truth it seems, that America is an object too vast for their embrace. That balance of power, which has so long been the hobby-horse of Europe, and in which the power of Great Britain, founded upon America had so great a weight, must be changed, and a new scale adopted. This makes all the cabinets so averse to enter into a consideration that must send

them again to school, and derange all the beautiful balances they have formed. Add to this, that the two old and potent princes of the north have resolved upon having peace in their day; contenting themselves with ministering such assistance to Russia, as will give them a claim to share in the partition of the Turkish dominions, as they have in those of Poland.

An officer of the English guards, who is returned from America, declares that the Highlanders are all sworn under their colours never to give quarter to an American; and that he has seen them hang up a great many prisoners in their belts. I know the officer; he is a man of veracity and a tory by birth, so that he is not likely to forge or exaggerate facts against his friends. Surely an enquiry ought to be made into this, and a most exemplary punishment inflicted on those detestable people, if it be true.

Sincerely your friend,

ARTHUR LEE."

" PARIS, Nov. 5th, 1777.

To the Hon'ble John Page, of Rosehill, Member of the Council of State for the State of Virginia.

Dear Sir,—The arrival of Mr. King here gave me an opportunity of enquiring after your health, and great pleasure in hearing of your welfare.

The object of Mr. King's mission is of much more difficult accomplishment than you imagined; both from the situation of things, and from its not being customary, nor indeed generally speaking, in the power of French merchants to make such large advances. A very small capital indeed serves to set them up; and their object in trade is more a temporary and exorbitant profit, than the establishment of a permanent interest and commerce upon moderate profits, with industry and fair dealing.

Through all Europe our cause is rising, and that of

our enemies sinking in proportion. But yet the position seems not so decided, as to make individuals, especially such as I have described, hazard much of their money, as the powers of Europe are at war.

It seems probable that this business will end by stationing cruisers upon our coast to distress our commerce. In such a situation Virginia I am afraid will suffer much, unless her marine were augmented, and some coasters built, to sail swiftly, carry heavy metal, and draw little water. The natural advantages of our immediate country for commerce, are such as must, if properly improved, furnish the means of maintaining a very respectable marine. To this chiefly, she must owe her future prosperity and grandeur.

I shall always be happy to hear of your welfare, and that of Mrs. Page and your family. Be so good as to remember me with respect to Mr. Nicholas, Mr. T. Nelson, and Mr. Jefferson.

I have the honour to be, with great regard,
ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, Nov. 6th, 1777.

To his Excellency Patrick Henry, Chief Magistrate
of the State of Virginia.

Sir,—It gave me great pleasure to hear of your health from Mr. King. The great need our immediate country is in of essential supplies, gave me great uneasiness; and the more so, as I could find no one here disposed to make the advance required. Mr. King exerted himself with great assiduity to the same end, and seems by his attention to business, entirely worthy of the confidence you reposed in him. I hope he will be able to effect something at Nantes; where so much profit is made by our commerce, that it would be very ungrateful not to assist us, upon such sure and reasonable terms.

The supplies I sent early in the spring from Spain, were at first ordered to Virginia; but upon receiving advice from the committee of congress that the eastern ports were the safest, I was obliged to countermand those orders; in consequence of which they were sent to New-England, to which all our remittances have been directed. If our state should want a loan of money, I think Spain is the most likely to supply it; and as I am commissioned to that court by congress, whatever commands you may have for me on that or any other subject, I shall obey with pleasure. But being at the same time continued in the commission here, it is not probable I shall quit Paris for some months. Business however can be negotiated here as well as at Madrid, though with somewhat more expense of time. Our enemies are much exhausted and embarrassed by the war, insomuch that as yet they seem to have formed no plan, nor are they making any efforts to provide for the support of another campaign. Germany will afford them but feeble assistance; and I was assured, when I was lately at the northern courts, that there was no probability of their being assisted from Russia. But as the hatred and vengeance which now govern the conduct of this war will animate the contrivers of it to very desperate efforts, it will be wise to prepare for the worst, and not measure our exertions entirely by the apparent inability of the enemy. It is probable that their last efforts will be, to intercept our commerce by blocking up our ports and rivers. This, with the liableness of our country to be so distressed, suggests the necessity of attending to and encouraging our marine. A few vessels built expressly for cruisers, of such a mould as to draw as little water as possible, of such a length as to sail the swiftest, and carrying though few guns yet those of the heaviest metal, would save our coasts from such insults. Their superior weight of metal would subdue vessels of less

force, and they would harass and outsail those of greater force. We lately built one on this plan in Holland, but the impossibility of manning her obliged us to sell her. Our cause gains ground daily in the opinion of Europe, but it is yet uncertain when any of its powers will declare openly in our favour.

I have the honour to be, &c. with great respect,
your obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

" Nov. 25, 1777.

S. Adams, Esq.

Dear Sir,—Public affairs wear every day a more unfavourable aspect for our enemies. The discomfiture of Burgoyne is an irreparable blow. France and Spain are arming seriously and formidably. Holland has ordered a strong convoy for their West India trade. I am well informed that the number of troops they can draw from Germany will be very small, and from Russia none. The raising their supplies will be difficult, perhaps impracticable, for certainly the public is not contented nor confident. The king's speech is impertinent and insignificant. He is assuredly destined to destruction.

Let me whisper to you that I have reason to suspect there is jobbing both with you and with us. The public concerns and the public money are perhaps sacrificed to private purposes. Congress should interfere. Let them appoint a commercial agent, distinct from the former and his connexions; let them order an account with vouchers how the money received here for the public has been expended, and signify their pleasure that the commissioners do not concern themselves with trade directly or indirectly, and they will soon find their affairs resume respectability and credit, which have been for some time lost here. Mr. J. Lloyd, of South Carolina, now residing at Nantes,

seems to me a proper person for commercial agent, and I think his appointment will most essentially serve the public. Be so good as to consult with Mr. Laurens and my brothers upon this subject, which I assure you is of the last importance to the public.

ARTHUR LEE."

"January 5th, 1778.

Samuel Adams, Esq.

Dear Sir,—No material change has taken place since my last letters, which should be delivered to you by Capt. Nicholson, and Mr. Deane, jr. Every thing seems disposed towards the great event we wish, the acknowledgment of our independency. I am not fond of prophesying, but I think it will not be long before something signal will happen.

I have before mentioned to you a Mr. Carmichael. Every day gives me fresh reason for suspecting him. The gentleman who bears this will give you an account of him; and the enclosed account will show you in what manner the public money has been put into his pocket by Mr. —, under the pretence of errands, in which the only object was, to tell ignorant people that he and Mr. — were the only persons possessed of public trust and power. It is impossible to describe to you to what a degree this kind of intrigue has disgraced, confounded and injured our affairs here. The observation of this at head quarters, has encouraged and produced through the whole a spirit of neglect, abuse, plunder, and intrigue, in the public business, which it has been impossible for me to prevent or correct. After three months' solicitation to have an account of the expenditure of the public money, the enclosed, such as you see, is the only one I can procure. Thousands I am sure have been misapplied in such manner as this, and in still worse chan-

nels. Perhaps you may think this is not the time for severe enquiry; and I believe that confidence makes these people do many things upon which they would not otherwise venture. What I wish at least is, that it may be remembered, I have done my endeavour to prevent what I am sure will hereafter be the subject of enquiry and reprehension.

The enemy make a great parade of what they will attempt next campaign. In the mean time it is certain they are under great apprehensions for Quebec, for the defence of which they think 8000 men necessary.

Adieu. Affectionately,

ARTHUR LEE."

"JANUARY 5th, 1778.

To R. H. Lee.

My Dear Brother,—Though nothing is yet concluded, yet every thing seems hastening to the declaration we wish. Portugal we are given to understand is amicably disposed. I am in doubt whether a treaty of commerce (and perhaps this court will go no farther at present) concluded with us will induce Great Britain to declare war; though every thing may be expected from their folly, and from that infatuation which commences in deceiving others, and ends in deceiving themselves. They talk much of mighty preparations, which they will soon persuade themselves are real, and which consist in regiments to be raised in the trading and manufacturing towns. Gen. Halde-mann has assured the British ministry, that 8000 men are necessary for the defence of Canada should it be attacked, of which they are much afraid. Let me recommend Mr. Stephenson as highly worthy of your protection. He will give you a particular account of things here. If in the arrangement of things I could be continued here, and Mr. D. removed to some oth-

er place, it would be pleasing to me, and disconcert effectually their wicked measures.

Adieu. Your affectionate brother,

ARTHUR LEE."

" PARIS, Jan. 9th, 1778.

R. H. Lee.

Dear Brother,—I hoped by this time to have informed you that something decisive was concluded. We remain however in the same state of incertitude. There is nothing so necessary in politics and negotiation as patience. The recent death of the Elector of Bavaria, to whom the Palatine is heir, threatens to involve this kingdom in a German war. The reason is this. The Elector Palatine is heir to Bavaria, and the Duke de deux ponts to both. The latter is the strict ally of France, who is also the guaranty of the treaty of Westphalia; and should she obtain him these successions, he would form a third power, and give them the decision in the German scale. But the emperor chooses to have Bavaria, and the king of Prussia the Palatinate, which will bring these two great powers to the frontiers of France. In this situation of things it is feared that France will be engaged in a land war, which will make a diversion in favour of our enemies.

Things are going on worse and worse every day among ourselves, and my situation is more painful. I see in every department, neglect, dissipation and private schemes. Being in trust here I am responsible for what I cannot prevent, and these very men will probably be the instruments of having me one day called to an account for their misdeeds. There is but one way of redressing this and remedying the public evil; that is the plan I before sent you, of appointing the Dr. *honoris causa*, to Vienna, Mr. Deane to Holland, Mr. Jennings to Madrid, and leaving me here. In that

case I should have it in my power to call those to an account, through whose hands I know the public money has passed, and which will either never be accounted for or misaccounted for, by connivance between those who are to share in the public plunder. If this scheme can be executed it will disconcert all the plans at one stroke, without an appearance of intention, and save both the public and me. But should this be impracticable, let me know whether it is not proper that I should write to the committee that in my judgment the public business is turned here to private emolument, that my advice and endeavours have not the least influence, and therefore I desire not to be deemed responsible for what I have not the power in directing or preventing. In this or any other better manner, I wish to be quit of a business, in which those who are abusing me are employing the public money to make friends for themselves and enemies for me. You may easily conceive who will succeed in such a contest.

Adieu.

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, May 27th, 1778.

Hon. John Page, Esq.

Dear Sir,—I received with very great pleasure your most obliging letter by Mons. Le Maire, of the 12th of March. It was the more pleasing to me as it proved that the wish of renewing our former acquaintance was mutual. Some of the several letters I have written to you will I trust get safe so as to satisfy you that my sentiments of your zeal and exertion for the public welfare are not inferior to those with which you have honoured me.

The declaration of our independency by the court of France, awakened that of England to her danger and her weakness. Irritated therefore as she was, she did not dare to declare war. But she is exerting every

nerve to put herself in a posture of defence. At present the stroke stands suspended, though their ambassadors respectively retiring, the seizure of all their ships and seamen belonging to each other, which happened to be in their ports, and each sending a fleet to your coast, are proofs that actual hostilities are inevitable. When they commence, America will hold the balance, and make which scale she pleases preponderate. France therefore showed her superior wisdom in seizing the moment of Burgoyne's defeat to secure our assistance by a treaty. While England was deliberating she lost the only opportunity she could have of retrieving the consequences of her former folly and injustice. But this seems to be the fated period of her decline, and her glorious sun is set.

You will judge from my last letter that I should enter warmly into the purpose of Mons. Le Maire's mission, which is calculated to put our country into that respectable state of preparation in which I so ardently wish to see it. My brother being absent on his negotiations in Germany, I have endeavoured to carry the business as far as it can be done here, into execution. If I can borrow from the Farmers General a million of livres as I am endeavouring to do, on the terms Governor Henry mentions, we shall be enabled to purchase the things, where we can have them best and cheapest. If I cannot effect this loan, an agreement must be made with some capital merchant for him to furnish the whole, and receive his payment in tobacco in the country, at the current price. In the mean time I have judged proper to send Mons. Le Maire to Strasbourg, on the confines of Germany, where and at Solingen, which is near, many of the articles are to be had, far the best and cheapest. Perhaps too we may send them directly from thence by the way of Holland. There too he will be nearer to take the directions of my brother.

Be so good as to inform his excellency Gov. Henry of what I have done. The great seal I have also enquired about. But they asked here from 100 to 150 louis d'ors for making it in steel. I have written to London to know what would be the price, as this seems exorbitant. As soon as I am satisfied it is not so, I shall put it in hand. The paper Mr. Webb desired is ordered, and I enclose a specimen for him. I am sorry however to see that there are no naval stores ordered, which I conceive must be very necessary. Should I therefore succeed in the loan, and should there be any surplus, I will vest it in them, and ship them with the rest.

I must beg the favour of you to express my high sense of the honour your society has done me, and of assuring them that my poor endeavours shall not be wanting to promote the laudable purpose of its institution.*

I shall be extremely happy in receiving the extracts you mention, and when you publish any thing, if you will be so obliging as to send me some copies, I will present them to the different societies in Europe, which will produce a reciprocal communication of discoveries, and more effectually answer the purpose, and extend the reputation of the society.

Since I last wrote to you, I have discovered that a company, which has at its head, and which obtained some time since from the crown of Great Britain, an immense grant on the Ohio, within the dominion of Virginia, are intriguing to interest members of congress in it so as to get a confirmation of their grant by congress, which would be invading the right of our state. The grant was called Vandalia. Many Englishmen are members of the company, and the Americans are Dr. Franklin, Mr. Joseph Wharton, in London, and a Dr. Bankcroft. These are the persons

* A Society to Promote Useful Knowledge, of which Mr. Lee had been elected a member.

by whose intrigues it is expected the business may be effected. You are acquainted with Mr. Lewis, of Gloucester. Be so good as to inform him that I have enquired about his brother's unhappy fate at St. Omar. The magistrates assured me that it was not through any apparent distress in his circumstances, and that his remains were treated with all possible decency. It may be some consolation to that most respectable family to be assured of this, as there have been reports to the contrary.

Since I began my letter I have received the enclosed answer to my proposition for borrowing money of the Farmers General, for the purchase of the stores, by which you will see the little success of it. I shall however leave no endeavours unexerted to effect the sending of the supplies in the speediest manner, and of the best kind.

It is supposed that orders are sent to the Howes to retire to Halifax, from whence they are to infest your coast and annoy your trade, so as to compel you to seek peace upon their terms. I cannot judge of the practicability of fortifying Cape Henry so as to prevent the entrance of large ships. But surely, if it be practicable, no expense should be spared, it would so effectually protect our commerce and our country.

I beg you will make my respects to the Governor, to Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Wythe, and other gentlemen who may do me the honour of remembering me.

With the greatest esteem I have the honour to be dear sir, your sincere friend and most obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, Jan. 24th, 1778.

R. H. Lee.

My Dear Brother,—Our ultimate object here is in great forwardness, and I hope we shall soon give you

an account of its conclusion. A war seems every day more certain, and I can assure you that this country is exceedingly well prepared for it. The affair of Bavaria is amicably settled, so that no disturbance will arise from it. Capt. Conyngham in the Revenge, who made so much disturbance at Dunkirk, is involving us with the Spanish court, by having captured a French ship carrying English goods to Spain. That king, who is subject to great intemperance of passion, is enraged at such disrespect shown to the commerce of his subjects, and whether he is right in his resentment or not, it is likely to do us very material injury, especially in the supplies he promised us.

Adieu. Affectionately,

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, Feb. 9th, 1778.

F. L. Lee, Member of Congress.

Dear Loudon,—I congratulate you with all my heart on the treaties, which congress will receive by the frigate that brings this. According to the present appearance of things, the event which is to bring the second treaty into operation, will take place before this reaches you. By the lists I have, the united fleets of France and Spain will amount in less than two months to 100 sail of the line. While the ancient rivals of England are thus strengthening and connecting themselves, the people who direct that government are devising ways and means to deceive the public and pick the pocket of the subject, and the opposition are agitating the very important question, whether you can be prevailed upon to resign your independency to any ministers but themselves. You may guess which of the two nations is best conducted and most likely to prosper.

You will see by the enclosed letter that the commissioners did not agree about the 12th article of the

commercial treaty. Mr. Girard, in a private conversation with me and afterwards in our public conference declared that the court was by no means desirous of having the 11th and 12th articles in the treaty, and would upon representation from congress that they were not agreeable, very readily agree to make them void. There will, therefore, be no difficulty in the negotiation to render them both of no effect, should congress think that the 11th article is purchased too high by the 12th. I proposed before we assented to it to consult the two other commissioners, Mr. Izard and our brother upon them ; but my colleagues would not consent.

Adieu.

ARTHUR LEE."

" Feb. 15th, 1778.

R. H. Lee, Member of Congress.

Dear Brother,—The enclosed letter will show you that the commissioners did not agree about the 12th article. I proposed to call in the other commissioners of congress, that their opinions might assist us. But my colleagues would not agree to it. Mr. Girard had informed me, and repeated at our general conference, that the king had agreed to the 11th and 12th articles contrary to his principles, upon a supposition that such was the wish of congress, and that therefore upon a representation from congress he had no doubt they would be readily given up. This however will require another treaty to cancel those articles, after they are ratified in common with the rest. I send you the copies of letters relative to some despatches of mine, which Messrs. Deane and Carmichael have detained from me and from the public, I am satisfied with a bad view. You will however see by Mr. Lloyd's letter, that there appears to be a quarrel between these two men, which if not feigned, as I am apt to suspect, may serve to detect the mal-

practices of which the first is suspected. My absence, and the care with which things have been concealed from me, have disqualified me to judge of the truth of the suspicions, which are general, of Mr. _____ having had douceurs from the public contractors and others, in order to conciliate his patronage; and that he is in a sort of partnership with Holker, Sabatier, Montheiu and others, in which the public money and influence are made subservient to private profit. I shall hope to get at the accounts by degrees, which will show what foundation there is for this suspicion. In the mean time I am told that a Mr. L'— of Charleston, S. C. and a Capt. John Welch, who sails from Cadiz, in the polacre called the Union, can throw some light upon the subject. The disputes Mr. _____ has industriously contrived with me will render my being his accuser apparently an act of private enmity, not of public justice. And probably this was his object in quarrelling with me, being under great apprehensions from me, as well from my character as from the opportunities my situation would give me of doing it with effect. Dr. F. has always countenanced his proceedings, I believe entirely from a consideration of the business and advantages which he artfully throws into the hands of Mr. _____. In this situation it is not in my power to prevent every thing from being conducted according to the views and pleasure of Mr. _____. Whenever he is removed from the command of money the truth will come out fast enough, and the persons who, under his auspices, have been defrauding the public may be brought to account. Upon the whole these are dangerous men, and capable of any wickedness to avenge themselves on those who are suspected of counteracting their purposes. They are therefore to be acted against with great circumspection, and the proof for their detection and punishment secured before any open attempt is made. The calling for an

account of the money we have expended, the taking of the expenditure out of our hands for the future, or the removal of him who has misapplied it, would lead to discoveries and proofs before time has enabled him to prevent them. I cannot help thinking there is some league between _____ and Beaumarchais in his demand on congress. War seems every day more inevitable. France and Spain are well prepared for it. But the latter is compelled to temporize till their millions now on the way from South America, are arrived.

Tom is still with Mr. Schweighauser, and appears to be improving. Ludwell has left his school, lives with me, and I shall soon make him begin reading the law. I wish you could send us the laws of Virginia, as those should be the object of his particular studies after he has got the general principles of jurisprudence.

Yours affectionately,

ARTHUR LEE."

"Feb. 17th, 1778.

S. Adams, Esq., Member of Congress.

My Dear Sir,—Let me embrace you my dear friend, on the accomplishment of the end of all our labours, by the treaties which will accompany this, *in which the liberty, sovereignty, and independence of the United States are secured*. I thought it absolutely necessary that we should urge the insertion of sovereignty, that there might not hereafter be any question on that head, as there long was in the case of the United Provinces and the Swiss Cantons. You may be assured, that war is resolved on here; and from the situation of things, it cannot be long avoided.

In England the opposition against the American war grows stronger every day. The minority for recalling the troops the other day was 166. But the best of kings and the wisest ministers are determined

to push things to every extremity rather than recede. By most certain accounts I know that their preparations have more of ostentation than reality in them, and that they cannot possibly muster such a force for the ensuing campaign, as they had for the last. It is most certain, that the power of Great Britain is passed away, and that she has lost her pre-eminence among the nations of the earth. The ministry and the opposition are however agitating a very important question, which is, into which of *their hands* you would resign your independency? The minority contend you will never do it, until they are brought into place; and the ministry are of opinion that you will do it as readily to them as to their opponents; in which I conceive they are not very far from the truth.

You will see by the enclosed that there was much difference of opinion between my colleagues and me, upon the 12th article of the commercial treaty. This court proposed that no duty should be laid on tobacco exported to the dominions of his most Christian majesty; which Dr. F. changed to all the produce of America exported to the islands furnishing molasses. As they were strong in favour of this article, I yielded up my opinion to theirs, at the conference in which they refused to take the opinions of the other commissioners of congress, Messrs. Izard and Lee, as I proposed. Upon stating the 12th article to them afterwards, I found their opinions as strong against it, which made me apprehensive it would produce some difference of opinion in congress. This, joined with the other reasons I have stated, determined me to propose the saving clause; instead of which my colleagues preferred the total rejection of the two articles; to which the French ministry would not consent, as the treaty they alleged having already receiv-

ed the king's approbation, they could not propose to him the alteration.

Yours, &c.

ARTHUR LEE."

" PARIS, Feb. 28th, 1778.

To Samuel Adams, Esq.

Dear Friend,—I enclose you Dr. Price's essays, which he wishes to have reprinted in America.

Lord North's speech will show you how much they are reduced, and the bills brought in, his insolence, folly, and infatuation. That of the public, is not less; for they really regard this compound of impudence and absurdity, as something calculated to relieve their distresses, and prevent the evils they apprehend.

The king of Prussia threatens to excite a war in Germany; which, if he does, will not I think make any material diversion in favour of our enemies. I believe the principal object of his court at present is to secure Holland, which it seems probable he will effect. When that is done, a single year in conjunction with the house of Bourbon, must enable us to drive the enemy entirely out of America. Looking forward to the future peace of America, it appears to me a necessary piece of policy to confederate Canada, that it may be a check upon New-England, which may otherwise combine in time to subjugate the rest of America. There is some such language held already by some of that country. It was with this view that I substituted in the 5th article of the defensive treaty, *confederated* with, instead of *subject* to, and the *reduction of the English power*, for the *conquest*, &c. Because if Canada be annexed as a conquest, it will add strength to New-England; if as a confederated state, it will always be a check.

If Mr. Lloyd is appointed agent, Dr. F. sent to

Vienna, Mr. D. to Holland, and I am left here, we shall act in concert; and not only have a full enquiry made into the expenditure of the public money, but establish that order, decency, and regularity, which are lately banished from the public business at present, so as to involve us in continual confusion and expense.

If congress condescends to treat with the English commissioners without a full acknowledgment of the sovereignty and independence of the United States, I shall be infinitely disappointed.

Yours, &c.

ARTHUR LEE."

" March 1st, 1778.

To Samuel Adams, Esq.

Dear Friend,—I was in hopes to-day's post would have brought us news from England, and the acts for negotiating with you. If we may judge of them from the bills, they will be an everlasting proof of the feebleness and folly of our enemies. I trust their commissioners will return as they came, unless they have the power, and do acknowledge clearly and fully the sovereignty and independence of America as an indispensable preliminary.

You will see by the enclosed that I wished to take the advantage of the first impression made by the miscarriage of our despatches, to press for our being openly acknowledged here. I thought we should succeed, because in conversation a few days before with Mr. Girard, I found this court was under strong impressions that you would decide in favour of England; and they know that in a war between the two nations, America must decide the victory. I do believe therefore, that if we had pressed it as of weight in this decision, we should have obtained it. I wish it were done, because I am sure the other powers of

Europe wait only for the example of France to admit us to those commercial rights which an acknowledgment would secure.

Mr. Girard assured me, the English gave out that they had sent half a million of guineas to soften obdurate hearts in America. This too gave them some apprehension, for they know the force of guineas in Europe.

Be so good as to remember me to Mr. Merchant.

Yours, &c.

ARTHUR LEE."

" PARIS, March 19th, 1778.

The Hon'ble Henry Laurens, President of Congress,
at Congress.

Dear Sir,—I congratulate our country on your filling so distinguished and important an office in her service. Her prosperity will always depend upon the wisdom of her choice.

Before this can reach you, the treaties concluded here must have arrived. I am sensible they would admit of very useful additions. But we were bound by the plan given us for the one, and by the critical situation of affairs admitting of no delay, in the other. These things being considered, I hope what defects are found will be excused.

It is altogether uncertain when it will be convenient for Spain to accede to the alliance; and I am apprehensive that the war which is likely to break out in Germany will prevent the king of Prussia from declaring so soon and so decidedly as he promised. The court of Spain will I apprehend, make some difficulties about settling the dividing line between their possessions and those of the United States. They wish to have the cession of Pensacola. I have written for and hope to have the instructions of congress on this

head. If any thing should strike you on this subject, the communication of it will infinitely oblige me. The high opinion I have of your abilities and zeal for the public good, will always render your advice a favour to me; and the acquaintance I have had the honour of having with you, makes me hope I may ask it without offence. I beg to be remembered to your son; and have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem and respect, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE.

P. S. To-morrow we are to be presented to the king of France, and the English ambassador quits this court without taking leave. War must immediately be the consequence; as these movements have been determined on, from the treaty of amity and commerce which we have concluded with this court having been announced in form to that of London. The consequence of this, in relieving our country from the chief weight of the war, cannot but follow; and therefore I congratulate you upon it most sincerely. In my judgment, a year or two must reduce Great Britain to any terms the allies may think proper to demand.

A. L."

"PARIS, April 4th, 1778.

Hon'ble Henry Laurens, President of Congress.

Dear Sir,—I have the honour of enclosing you an accurate list of the present and possible force of our enemies, with the manner in which it is disposed of. You will probably see the commencement of the plan arranged here for carrying on the war in your quarter, which I may not hazard committing to this letter, as it goes by a private vessel. A Mons. Francois, a very able man, sometime since minister to England, was

intended to be sent to you ; but being taken ill, the present person was put in his place. I trust he will conduct his negotiation agreeably to what appears to me to be the disposition of the court and ministers here, fairness and generosity.

I have settled the means of receiving from time to time Mrs. Laurens's letters for your son; and intelligence from different persons, that may be useful to the public.

In great haste, and with the greatest respect, I have the honour to be dear sir, your most obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

"June 3d, 1778.

To the Hon'ble James Lovell.

Dear Sir,—I send you the enclosed as a curiosity, which will furnish you matter of reflection. The original was intercepted by our enemies, and the person who furnishes me with intelligence procured the copy from whence this was taken.

You could not have sent a colleague more agreeable to me than the present. With much good sense and good nature, a disposition to do business, and pursue the public good alone, he is so direct a contrast to the other, that nothing can be more pleasing to me than the change.

The continuation of war is augmenting our cares and apprehensions for the public. The treaty we have concluded seems to have operated more upon our enemies than on our friends. In consequence of this, their force at sea upon our coasts will be much greater than that of the French, notwithstanding the previous time they have had for preparation. The timid, tardy politics of these countries, especially in

execution, are as little calculated for the exigency of the moment, as for the enterprise of their allies. But with a moral certainty of a happy issue out of this business, we must not repine at its being protracted, or attended with much more expense of blood, treasure, and suffering, than is necessary.

You see the facts attending my enquiry into the robbery of the despatches, which should have been carried by Folger. Comparing and connecting all things together, it is my private judgment that this Mr. Chaumont was employed by the 243 a xvii. to take the public despatches; and that he availed himself of the opportunity to take my letters for Mr. Deane and Dr. Bancroft, with whom he was in close connexion. These were, I think, the first despatches written by us after the violent affair of Dunkirk, which may well account for the desire of the _____ to possess them; and the gentlemen mentioned had just before discovered that I had been apprised of their abuse of, and combination against me, during my absence in Germany; which was a sufficient motive with them to fear the contents of my letters, and wish to stop them. Knowing the impossibility in this country of pursuing the enquiry to effect without the assistance of government, I was obliged to apply for it, whatever doubt I might have of their entering heartily into the business.

June 9th. You will see by my letter to the committee the present state of things in Europe, and I enclose you a foreign gazette, containing what we have of the treaty with Portugal.

With great esteem, &c.

ARTHUR LEE.

P. S.—The former part of this letter was written on a supposition that Admiral Byron's fleet was on

its voyage to America, instead of being countermanded."

"July 28th, 1778.

James Lovell, Esq.

Dear Sir,—I had the pleasure of receiving your favour dated in May by Capt. Nyles. You must have more of the milk of human nature than ever yet fell to the portion of man to have lost all resentment of the personal injuries you have received from our insolent and inhuman foe. But the debt of retribution is pressing hard upon them, and I am mistaken if it do not weigh them down to ruin and humiliation.

Our letter to the committee, will inform you of public affairs, and those to Mr. Adams, of whatever is worth your attention in private. I am afraid the ribband and the little seekers of such a distinction, will give some trouble ; and a gold snuff-box, with a grand monarch's picture set with diamonds, may probably excite some murmurs against the prohibition of such flattering testimonies of merit in the articles of confederation.

It will be necessary to have a letter of credence from congress to the court, to which they shall destine me.

I enclose you some foreign gazettes, and have the honour to be, &c.

ARTHUR LEE."

"August 22d, 1778.

R. H. Lee, Esq.

Dear Brother,—This will be delivered to you by Mr. J. Lloyd, the gentleman whom I have so strong-

ly recommended to you for commercial agent ; from whose abilities and integrity we might expect that the system which has hitherto prevailed so much at the expense and disgrace of the public, would be corrected ; and the credit of her commerce restored. My brother and myself have conceived that as the public allowance to the commercial agent is very liberal, and the situation necessarily must recommend considerable business, the person appointed might with the most fair and conscientious discharge of his duty to the public, make his own fortune. It was from a persuasion that Mr. Lloyd was of the same sentiments and would act accordingly, that we joined in recommending him to that office.

But I now repeat the opinion I took the liberty of giving then, that to enable him to act with effect for the public service, his office should be entirely independent of us the commissioners, and all commercial business whatsoever of congress be directed by him. When he is in want of our political assistance, in applying to the ministers &c., upon his request we should be bound to give it, or congress would remind us of our duty. It is by keeping the two departments commercial and political, distinct and independent, as far as from the nature of things the former can be of the latter, that we can alone expect to see men of character undertake and conduct the public business as we would wish ; that is, for the public good. Hitherto the interposition of the commissioners, under the pretext of these mixed powers, has been only to serve private ends ; in which the credit and the interest of the public, as well as the time and character of individuals, have been sacrificed without measure and without mercy. It will require that temper, ability, and integrity, which I am assured and believe Mr. Lloyd possesses, to restore the public credit, and settle the accounts, which I plainly perceive have

been purposely confused. I therefore recommend him to your patronage, by what I know to be the strongest of all motives with you, your regard for the public good.

Mr. Lloyd has resided some time at Nantes. He has been an observer of many proceedings, which it may import the public much for you to know, and which I have no doubt he will communicate. I have known his zeal for and attachment to the public cause for many years ; and therefore introduce him to your acquaintance as one in whom you may have entire confidence.

I am affectionately yours, &c.

ARTHUR LEE."

" The Hon. James Lovell.

Dear Sir,—The impudent attempt of —— will show you what sort of a man he is. I am satisfied his friend Chaumont is of the same stamp. That he has kept my colleagues in custody, and has been a spy upon us is too probable. I enclose you an attempt of his against Mr. Schweighauser, which by his evasions, and the utter falsehood of it, seems to be a most malicious forgery. He and Dr. Bancroft are exceedingly intimate, and seem to harmonize in this laudable mode of employing themselves. I owe the knowledge of these things entirely to Mr. Adams, for they were meant to operate as a multitude of their similar contrivances have done, unknown to me. They are practising upon him, and communicate their calumnies to him, in hopes they will have their effect. This system has been pursued ever since we have been here, and to the disgrace of all and the disquiet of every man whose situation they envy or whose opposition they fear. It is no very pleasant situation to

have a number of these people perpetually endeavouring to create disturbances and difficulties, and calumniating me in secret. This was Mr. ——'s plan, and he has left Dr. Bancroft as his deputy. But I am misinformed if you do not know both their characters sufficiently not to be surprised at it.

I do assure you the arrangement of your money affairs requires every attention you can bestow upon it; and you must not trust too much to assistance from European loans. Unless your agents are compelled to do their duty and transmit produce to Europe, I see no probability of establishing a fund here sufficient to sink any considerable part of the paper emitted. Therefore I think this is an object highly worthy of your attention. The mention of accommodation in the letter from Spain, deserves also your consideration. I shall endeavour to sound their meaning farther.

With great esteem I have the honour to be dear sir, your most obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

" PARIS, September 12th, 1778.

Samuel Adams, Esq., Member of Congress.

Dear Friend,—I enclose you an extract from a memoire presented to us by the French officer who was taken with Gen. Lee, from which it appears that Mr. —— was early acquainted with the dishonest character of Mr. Montheiu, with whom he afterwards chose to make contracts at a very extravagant rate, and which, as to the soldier's uniforms, he appears by Mr. Williams's report, to have fulfilled with the same good faith, which he intended to have used in the fusils. These facts may justly lead to a supposition of an undue motive, in trusting the public again with

a man who had before endeavoured to impose upon us in so momentous a matter as arms. Discoveries of this sort are making every day. The Union, from _____, and the Two Friends from Nantes, in which he and Mr. Williams were partners, were I am satisfied fitted out with the public money, and had they not been captured, an examination of the captains would probably have given farther light upon the subject. Repeated attempts have been made by the old gentleman to apply the money we are borrowing to the shipping of goods, through Sir G. Grand's house in Amsterdam. If once a cover can be established much may be done in it. But most fortunately I have the positive resolve of congress to plead against it, and your namesake joining me, the scheme will be disappointed. The taste of public plunder, seems only to have quickened their appetites and extended their views.

Nothing of any decision has yet happened either between the combatants in Germany or upon the ocean. The ensuing winter will exert every faculty of negotiation to strengthen and arm for the next campaign, and I am much mistaken if England do not find herself so overmatched as to relinquish the contest.

I formerly desired you to support my destination to this department; but as I believe it is an object of desire to others, I do not wish to be a competitor with any one, and shall be content wherever I can best serve the great cause, in peace with all men.

Adieu. Your friend,

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, Sept. 12th, 1778.

R. H. Lee.

Dear Brother,—I wrote you by several opportunities. No public political event has happened since Prince Henry by almost an incredible march deceived Gen. Laudon, entered Bohemia without opposition, and forced some Austrian posts, taking some magazines and a number of prisoners. The king of P. finding the emperor impregnable, has decamped, and we wait the event of his movements.

The two fleets have been some time in sight, of pretty equal force, but no action that we can learn. This winter will give a form and complexion to the new system of Europe, since the United States have entered the list. Most assuredly they must soon hold the 57 a, xix., if honest men will unite to control and punish the practice of 283, a, iii., g the 297, a, xxxv., before it grows inveterate, and the profits of it and the member of the 283, a, v—s enables them to set all enquiry at defiance and bring our 107, 6, xxx., to imbecility and contempt.

What I have 425, 6, xxxiii. about 265, a xxx., 254, a, v. 92, a iii., I know will give you pain, but it is necessary to know 240, a, xii., and nothing proves them like power. I am more and more satisfied that the 260, 6, 1, 134, a vi. is concerned in the 283, a iv., and that in time we shall collect the proofs.

My love to Loudon and the shippers. The boys are very well. The alderman will write you. Remember me to the president, Mr. Plater, Mr. Carrol, Mr. Marchant, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Duar. I wrote to the president, and he has not answered me.

Adieu.

ARTHUR LEE."

" Sept. 20th, 1778.

His Excellency Henry Laurens, Esq., President of Congress.

Dear Sir,—I received yours of the 30th ult. but not those to which it refers. I am very much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken. The industry of those persons seems equal to their malice and wickedness. Whatever facts you can get relative to their proceedings I beg you will note. W— has exculpated himself, but what does W— say of it. I imagine he will be able to furnish some facts relative to manœuvres. His nephew Jonathan was in a sugar-baking house in London. I wish when you have opportunity you would inform yourself in what capacity he was, and what the proprietors think of his quitting them, and this if possible from themselves, as he has put about that they wanted him to be a partner, and claims much merit with the public on that account. He is one of the D—e Junto, who are fertile in their own praises to authorize their plundering the public.

As to the plan you propose for yourself, your friends here think it impracticable, for reasons they cannot commit to paper. They think too that your staying away makes you lose opportunities of serving yourself and the public; and therefore wish that you would not continue it any longer than is indispensably necessary.

I think the following inscription on the shield will not be amiss:

The ships' colours should be white, blue, and red stripes alternately, to thirteen, and in the upper angle next the staff, a blue field with thirteen white stars. I shall try to augment the subscriptions. What you desire about the books is done.

I can only add, that I shall be glad to see you whenever your affairs permit you to come; and will with pleasure do any thing in my power to serve you.

I am yours, &c.

ARTHUR LEE.

P.S. I wish I could have the report about the selfishness of my brother, and what happened from it where you mention; which is not only an untruth, but directly the reverse of truth. Direction. Outside, A Mons. Craig, at the Carolina Coffee House, Birchen Lane, London. Inside, to James Craig, Esq., Bath."

" PARIS, Nov. 11th, 1778.

To Samuel Adams, Esq.

Dear Friend,—I believe you must prepare for another campaign. It is more than probable that the negotiations of this winter will embattle all the powers of Europe.

It is impossible to say, to what extent this may strengthen the hands of our enemies for the ensuing campaign. But as far as any thing appears at present, they must every day grow weaker and weaker.

We must not judge that because they persevere they have the means of supporting their plan. Folly and malignity have certainly more influence in their counsels than fortitude and wisdom. It seems probable that Russia and Prussia, perhaps Denmark and Sweden, will be leagued in the general war. Whether Holland will be roused from her neutrality is uncertain. But either this will happen, or she will pre-

serve a neutrality, which will serve us as effectually as her alliance.

You will see by the enclosed that her spirit runs high, and in a right direction.

I observe it is asserted in a piece signed W. H. Drayton, upon the information of Mr. Deane, that Mr. Simeon Deane was charged on his first voyage with a declaration of the court of France, which Mr. Girard had sent the 16th Dec. to the commissioners here; which declaration pledged this court for the completion of the treaties, agreeably to our letter by the same person. There is something very mysterious to me in that business. It is the first time I ever heard of such a declaration. If it was ever committed to the commissioners, congress have surely a right to know what became of it. I am grieved to think that the intrigues which I now find were nourished here by an old man, whose life has been a series of them, are likely to engage so much of your time and attention, which should be employed upon subjects of the last importance. I was unhappily the object of those intrigues, and therefore compelled to engage in a contest which I shall regret as long as I exist; a contest in which I foresaw sure and permanent mischiefs, without any possible good to those who did not look for advantage to themselves in confusion and dissensions. Congress would in my judgment act wisely in letting it be early seen, that those who are pursuing places or advancement by such means, are sure of failing. Whether the example will be followed depends upon the visible success of such arts in the beginning. A little success in the first adventurers will encourage a multitude of others.

We have two great objects to effect here this winter, the procuring you funds, and a superiority of naval force. My utmost endeavours to effect them shall not be wanting, whatever is my destination. Adieu.

That this contest must end in the establishment of our liberties is sure; we have only to wish that it may be soon.

I am, with the truest esteem, your sincere friend and very humble servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

" PARIS, Dec. 4th, 1778.

The Hon'ble James Lovell, Member of Congress.

Dear Sir,—Whitlocke, in the journal of his embassy, says:—‘By this constant and perfect intelligence from Thurloe, Whitlocke had great advantage in his negotiation, being thereby enabled to give a perfect account of affairs, not only of his own country, but of most other places, to the great satisfaction of the queen and her court, and grandes, with whom Whitlocke had frequent converse, and from his private and public letters, was able to satisfy their curious enquiries after news; so that it became to pass that no news (especially from England) was authentic, until it was ratified by the English ambassador; which raised the credit both of him and his intelligence.’

I am sorry to assure you that our situation is exactly the reverse. We never go to court but the first question is, *Messieurs*, (in French, have you any American news?—*Editor.*)

In all companies it is the same; and trifling as it may appear, yet it is a fact, that as the reverse raised Whitlocke's crédit, so this sinks ours. Vessels are continually arriving from all parts of the United States; they bring constant intelligence from Mr. Morris, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Holker, to Mr. Ross, M. De Chaumont, and Dr. Bancroft, but for the commissioners seldom a line; and what comes is invariably of such

old dates, as to be useless. I should conceive that if the commercial agent at each port were instructed to send us the latest papers and news by every opportunity, that it would answer our purpose, without giving our friends in congress the trouble of writing, but upon the most important matters. As the enemy have promised much from their new mode as they term it of carrying on the war, by burning and desolating, they will misrepresent most egregiously every transaction. It will be therefore very material for us to have the most early and authentic accounts of their savage manœuvres that can be sent. For such is and ever will be the folly and credulity of the public, that they will believe any absurd story imaginable, unless it be contradicted.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ARTHUR LEE.

P. S. Dec. 7th.—I have added a letter of most earnest entreaty to congress, relative to obtaining a certain person's assistance in regulating their finances. He will be a most valuable acquisition."

"PARIS, January 9th, 1779.

The Hon. John Page, Esq.

Dear Sir,—Every thing in Europe looks so favourable for our cause, that I cannot but hope the next campaign, if conducted with vigour, will drive the enemy entirely from the continent of America, and establish the United States in sovereignty and safety. They cannot augment nor I believe even recruit their army for the next campaign, and the defence of their own possessions will require more men than they can possibly raise.

I have tried both in London and here to have the seal you wrote for executed. In London they were afraid to attempt it, and here they demanded near one hundred louis d'ors and three months time. I expect greatly to reduce the first part of the demand, but when it will be finished it is impossible for me to say, and indeed as you can do without it for the present, I think it would not be prudent to send it at a time when there is so great a risk of its being lost.

I enclose you an account of the paper for the treasury notes, which you will have the kindness to show to the treasurer.

The ready money I am in advance for the state exceeds £60,000. Besides being pledged to the government here for the artillery, &c. and to the owners of the ships for the freight, without which they could not have been shipped. Nothing has yet arrived from the state to answer those demands, which makes me very apprehensive of being distressed for payment. I must beg that what is intended for this purpose may be consigned to John Daniel Schweighauser at Nantes, and not to Pennet's house, from which I shall never get a farthing. From my own experience of their bad faith, I would recommend to you to stipulate a heavy penalty on the non-performance of any agreement for supplies you may think proper to make with Pennet & Co.

I have the honour to be with the greatest esteem
dear sir, &c.

ARTHUR LEE."

"PARIS, Jan. 9th, 1779.

Hon. James Lovell, Esq.

Dear Sir,—I am desired as an act of charity to endeavour to have the debt, which appears to be due by

the enclosed power of attorney, recovered. I know no one to whom I can recommend such an act with more prospect of success than to yourself. I therefore beg the favour of you to take such steps to recover this money as you may judge proper. A Baron Hobzendorf is returned hither in great disgust. He has given in a memorial to the commissioners, demanding upwards of £20,000 for his expenses. In that memorial he states, as Dr. Franklin informs me, (for I have not seen it) a conversation with you, in which he represents you as speaking very much against the French nation. As it is probable that this memorial is intended to be shown to the minister, I suppose he has his design in introducing this conversation. I have had frequent experience of these sort of people, who apply to us, mistaking conversations in the most scandalous manner. I have no doubt but that this is of the same kind. They go over with professions of the purest zeal for our cause, and the most disinterested attachment to that of liberty. But if that cause does not furnish them immediately with the enormous profit and preferment which were the real objects of their going over, they immediately become calumniators of our country and of us.

I shall use my endeavours to prevent the minister from being imposed upon by this adventurer. For those who have conducted themselves as he has done, do not deserve a more respectable appellation, whatever titles they may assume to themselves.

We wait in great anxiety for the final determination of congress upon foreign affairs. Being so entirely in the dark of what is really done, that certain persons with you and here are continually circulating such reports as they find most proper to keep up their credit and deceive the public.

You have in my public letter all the news ; and therefore I have only to add an assurance of the respect and esteem with which I have the honour to be dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

ARTHUR LEE.

N. B.—The creditor is M. Billet, Maitre de Pension, the debtor M. Crosneir de la Berthodiere, supposed to be in the service of the United States.”

“ Feb. 3d, 1779.

The Hon. Samuel Adams.

Dear Friend,—The minister has informed us that a private company in America has authorised M. De Chaumont here to contract with him for furnishing the navy of France with masting. When it was hinted to me from another court that such a contract would be desirable there, I immediately informed congress of it. For it appeared to me that masting was and is the property of the public ; and that the furnishing of them to the different powers of Europe would be one considerable means of paying off the public debt ; and establishing a future fund for the support of government. But if the contract with France should be permitted to individuals, others will conceive that they have the same right to contract with other powers, and the national object will be totally lost.

I must leave it to your discretion whether the interposition of congress will be proper. Many things may be known to you upon the spot to determine your judgment, and which cannot have reached me.

The empress of Russia has declared her intention of interposing effectually in support of the king of Prussia, if her mediation does not produce peace.

The empress-queen's answer is conceived in such moderate and even submissive terms, that it is judged a pacification will soon take place in Germany.

The court of France being extremely desirous of this, most certainly judge it to be for their interest in their present war with Great Britain. This is not my opinion; but though I think that an actual state of war in Germany is the most sure prevention of troops being obtained from thence or from Russia to assist Great Britain, yet peace accompanied with the jealousies that now exist, will in all probability also prevent it.

I have been long ill, and am yet confined to my bed, though somewhat better:

I have the honour, &c.

ARTHUR LEE."

A FEW REMAINING LETTERS OF MR. ARTHUR LEE TO
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS.

"July 6th, 1778.

To his Excellency the Marquis de Rosignan, Envoy
from the Court of Turin, at Berlin.

Dear Sir,—I have been disappointed in my expectation that a particular friend of mine would have delivered you a letter from me, in answer to the one I had the honour of receiving from you. The ambassador of your court here informed me lately of your intention of returning to your own country, and quitting the corps diplomatique. If that will contribute to the re-establishment of your health, I shall greatly

rejoice at it. It will be some compensation to the diplomatic body, for losing one of its most valuable members.

I am heartily tired too of the employment, and expect that the rotation which our states will observe in the disposal of employments, will soon dismiss me from the most tiresome situation I was ever in. Nothing but the exhausted state of England at present gives me reason to hope that the war will not be general and lasting, notwithstanding the moderation and reluctance of the house of Bourbon. Beyond the Alps, you will probably enjoy perfect tranquillity from those alarms which will disturb us. You will repose yourself in the enjoyment of that which is so truly enviable—*Otium cum dignitate*.

In that situation I hope you will not forget, that the constitution of our government having for their direct and ultimate object the security of the rights and the promotion of the happiness of all their citizens alike, it is the duty of every lover of mankind to contribute his aid in bringing them to perfection. As the privilege of citizenship is open to all men who will make a profession of faith so general, that no sensible man can have an objection to it, the general interest is concerned in promoting our purposes. I may therefore entertain the hope, that in some of your leisure hours you will favour me with your observations on our forms of government, most of which you will see collected in the *Affairs Etrangers*. It seems to me that I have understood you were in habits of friendship with the Marquis Beccaria. If so, you will have an opportunity on your return to Italy of adding his sentiments to your observations. The general object and operation of our governments are, the security of life, personal liberty, and property, by laws made by legislatures annually constituted by the people at large, and applied by juries chosen by lot. But

the detail of operations to carry these views into execution, is what creates the difficulty, and often frustrates the best purposes. The subjects and the mode of taxation are matters of infinite difficulty and importance. The good policy of imposing any duties whatsoever on commerce seems very questionable. The utility of any external commerce whatsoever in our situation, is problematical with some persons of very clear ideas upon the subject. Is it of more advantage to promote internal commerce, by cutting canals, and joining rivers? How far do the opulence and sway, which a considerable external commerce produces, compensate for the luxury and depravation of manners, which are as inevitably its offspring?

As it is infinitely more desirable to *prevent* than to *punish* crimes, what would be the most effectual regulations for that purpose? Are charitable foundations, hospitals, &c. as beneficial by the relief they give to real distress, as they are injurious in creating distress, by encouraging the worst of all evils, idleness? How can one best reconcile a speedy administration of justice, with a clear discovery of the facts on which it ought to be founded? Are appeals necessary? For if the first jurisdiction is competent, why should it not be final? if it is not, why should it judge at all?

I will not tire you with more questions. These will serve to show how highly I estimate your love of humanity. I beg my respects to the Marquesa.

Wishing you every blessing in this life, I have the honour to be, with the sincerest friendship, your excellency's humble servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

"BOSTON, Sept. 19th, 1780.

His Excellency Baron de Breteuil.

Sir,—I promised to write to your excellency when I reached my own country ; I now sit down to have that honour, with a mixture of pain and pleasure. With pain, that I am obliged to tell you that our situation is one of very serious distress ; and pleasure, in the prospect that your excellency's wisdom and influence in the cabinet of Versailles, will be exerted to relieve us.

Both the honour and interest of France are clearly and deeply concerned in the establishment of the independency of these United States. But I am greatly afraid that unless she employs more adequate means we shall all fail of this important purpose.

The government of these states has hitherto conducted this war through infinite obstacles, with paper money, that is, upon their credit. This money has been depreciating by rapid degrees till it is almost annihilated. In the mean time the circumstances of the war have rendered it impossible for them to draw silver or gold into their treasury by taxes. The actual situation of our government, therefore, now is—that they have a war to carry on and their country to defend in various parts, without money and without credit. You may easily conceive in what manner and how long such a war can be supported. The distress of the army we have can only be equalled by the difficulty of recruiting or augmenting it. The militia are indeed numerous and spirited. But they are only an occasional army, while that of the enemy is permanent ; and even when the militia is called out, for want of supplies it cannot be supported. It is therefore of absolute and indispensable necessity

that France should furnish the government of these states with a sum of hard money, sufficient to restore their credit ; or else I see very little probability of its being possible to resist the necessity of accommodation, upon the best terms that can be obtained. I am convinced that nothing but the last necessity will bring us to this accommodation ; but I am fully satisfied that without the immediate aid of thirty or forty millions of livres in specie, that irresistible necessity will exist, at the opening of the next campaign.

That your excellency may form your own judgment of this, I will state the present and probable advantages of the enemy.

They are about 1500 strong in New-York ; so that the utmost which our army can do, is by the aid of strong positions to stand upon the defensive. Their fleet much superior to that of his majesty, keeps it blocked up at Rhode-Island, and the second division with the supplies absolutely necessary for the American troops, which were to act with those of France, not having been expedited, has compelled the first division to remain entrenched at Rhode-Island, filled with vexation and disappointment. Your excellency knows how little is to be hoped from troops when the ardour and expectation of glory which animate them are extinguished, and how much injury this disappointment must bring upon the American service in the minds of the French army and marine. To our service it has not been less injurious. Six months were stated as adequate to the operations of the campaign, and levies were made for that time in great haste, at an immense expense in bounties, which are necessarily attended with the imposition of heavy taxes. The time is almost expired, and nothing done in consequence of the second division, and the supplies having been withheld. We have thus incurred a very heavy actual expense, set the example for

greater in future levies, and disappointed the expectation and dejected the spirits of our people. Those of the enemy are naturally raised in proportion.

Such are the respective situations in the north. In the south, the prospect is still more gloomy. The enemy is entirely in possession of Georgia and South Carolina. Our army, under Gen. Gates, which was sent to oppose them, has been lately defeated after an obstinate and bloody battle, in which our best troops and officers fell. It is therefore probable that before the close of the campaign they will be in possession also of North Carolina. This success gives them the infinite advantage of an extent of country, from which they can draw their supplies for the next campaign. They will be able to commence their spring operations with the invasion of Virginia in the south, and that of Rhode-Island in the north, while the middle states are kept in check by movements and inroads from New-York. To oppose and frustrate these attempts armies are necessary; to levy and support them money is indispensable, and there is not in our situation any human means of obtaining it but from France and Spain. If they will not furnish it, this country must be left a prey to the enemy and every species of distress, and France will sacrifice all the hopes of the struggle. It must be observed, too, that nothing but the hard money will do, the power of drawing on Europe from the small demand and depreciation of bills being found inadequate. But if the sum I have mentioned is furnished, and the second division and supplies forwarded, so as to prepare us for an early and active campaign, the enemy may yet be repelled, and this country prevented from being added to the force of Great Britain, already felt to be too formidable. Without this I repeat that no other alternative will be left to this unhappy country but accommodation or destruction.

I have the honour to be, &c. with the greatest respect,

ARTHUR LEE."

" PARIS, April 12th, 1777.

To the Rev. Dr. Price,

Dear Sir,—I beg you will accept my thanks for the favour of your pamphlet, than which I never in my life read any thing with more satisfaction. But alas! the decree has gone forth, and we are one no more. Providence, by inspiring the same hardness of heart that delivered the children of Israel from their oppressors, has delivered us.

A series of the most undistinguishing and inhuman barbarities by the German and British soldiery, together with Gen. Howe's order to put all persons to death who should be found in arms and not under an officer, have planted in the minds of all men an utter detestation of the British government.

Congress have appointed a committee to enquire into the cruelties that have been committed; that if there be any distinction in the perpetrators, the punishment may fall where it is most deserved. The 17th regiment, which had behaved with remarkable cruelty, fought with such desperate valour at Princeton, that it was almost entirely cut to pieces. And such was their brutal ferocity, that even during the action, which had its various turns, if an American fell into their hands they murdered him with the most savage inhumanity. Such was the fate of Gen. Mercer, a very brave and worthy officer, from the state to which I have the honour to belong.

These sir, are the lamentable fruits of Scotch principles and polities. But the calamity which they meant for us, has fallen heavy upon them and their to-

ry adherents. Elevated with the first appearance of success, and unmindful of the lenity which had spared and protected them, they openly and in all parts began to agitate the ruin of the people. This at once produced a distinction, and the necessity of expelling them; which is effected by proclamation, and with every degree of lenity that the nature of the thing will admit. In Virginia they are allowed to sell their effects and depart in peace. But where the war presses, and the enemy is invading, the necessity of the situation would not admit of more indulgence than time to remove their families.

The governments of the particular states are well established, and that of the congress deeply rooted.

Amid these wonderful events it is a source of infinite satisfaction to me that I have the honour of being numbered with you and others, as having earnestly and sincerely laboured to avert this calamity from England, and to persuade those in whose power it was, to send forth the spirit of peace over the troubled waters, and re-unite us upon terms of equal liberty.

If any one can save a nation so pressed within, and threatened without, it is our friend Lord Shelburne. At least he is the only man of his rank whom I have the honour of knowing, whose virtues and abilities are equal to the arduous task of retrieving a people overwhelmed with so many evils as England now is. Indeed in my opinion, it would require a people of more virtue than the world ever yet produced, or than human nature will admit of, to be united with Scotland and not be ruined. I mean as to their private morals and public principles. The conduct of the Scotch in America proves the inveteracy of their national character. They had fled from the tyranny and exactions of their chiefs. In America they found refuge and relief. Yet at the call of those very chiefs,

they took up arms to destroy their benefactors, or reduce them, and return themselves under that domination, of which they had had such bitter experience. A striking proof how impossible it is to wean them from the principles of perfidy, slavery, and ingratitude, which are native to them, and mark them as a people—*hostis humani generis.**

To form a nation upon the principles of equal justice and permanent liberty, is perhaps little less difficult, than to retrieve one from its degeneracy. That task is ours. So many various spirits are put in motion during a civil war, so many opportunities afforded the daring and the vicious, the sweets of power and pre-eminence are necessarily tasted by so many, that it must be fortunate indeed if some of them do not attempt to extend and augment the enjoyment of them, beyond the limits prescribed by a system of equal liberty. But it may be hoped that these attempts will be frustrated by the checks of so many republics, and the vigilance of those who are aware of such consequences. Rome perished because she was never animated by the principles of liberty, but governed by the spirit of faction; and because being collected into one body, the corruption of that left her without a check, and brought immediate ruin upon the public.

May your lights and labours sir, reform the corruption of our times, and re-inspire the people of England with the spirit of liberty. May the example of her children teach her, how invincible that spirit is, where it really operates. The unworthy conduct of the Scotch government, to which she has submitted, has not so utterly extinguished the love I bore her, as to prevent my wishing her most sincerely the full enjoy-

* The cause of Mr. Lee's antipathy to the Scotch, has been explained.

ment of that liberty, which she has at least countenanced the Scots to wrest from us.

I must beg the favour of you to make my best respects to Lord Shelburne, Col. Barre ,Dr. Priestley, and all those who yet do me the honour of holding me in remembrance, and who remain unterrified and unseduced from the cause of truth and liberty.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest regard and respect,

ARTHUR LEE.”

“ VIRGINIA, March 3d, 1786.

To the Marquis of Lansdown.

I had the honour of receiving a few days since your lordship's favour of the 26th of January.

Mr. Anstie will command every advice and assistance I can give him, not only from the desire I shall always have of promoting your lordship's wishes, but from a persuasion of the propriety of the purpose of his mission. He has opened his office in this city, and informs me that he receives all the assistance he can wish from the governing powers of this state. I am persuaded he will meet with the same disposition in all the states.

You have obliged me infinitely my lord by the particular and pleasing detail you give me of yourself and family, because I feel the warmest interest in whatever concerns your happiness. My brothers after whom your lordship has the goodness to enquire, have retired from public business to their estates, which their constant attention to affairs during the most perilous times of the public, has materially impaired. As to myself, when I had served three years in congress, I undertook to negotiate with the Indian nations, because I deemed it of much consequence to

these states. I had much curiosity to know those people and to view the western country. Since that I have been and am now one of the commissioners of the united treasury, the duty of which is of singular difficulty at present, from the pressure of demands and the infant arrangement of our finance. Patience however and perseverance will I hope overcome all the difficulties we have to encounter.

I was never more clearly of opinion in any thing than in what your lordship says relative to the execution of the late treaty between Great Britain and the United States. It does most highly concern the honour and interest of both countries to execute it faithfully. But from circumstances now irrevocable, it cannot be fulfilled in all its parts, and this gives ground to turbulent spirits on each side for refusing to execute what is practicable. The first violation of the treaty was on the part of the commander in chief in New-York, allowing the negroes to be carried off, after the provisional articles were agreed to; and refusing in sundry instances to suffer the American owners, who came to New-York for the purpose to take those that belonged to them. The register, he informed congress of his having ordered to be kept of those who were carried away, was a proof of the violation of the article, and of that only; because there is so little probability that the account given by the negroes of themselves was true, that it cannot enable the masters to ascertain their property. Your lordship may well believe this a not undesired reason for those of our citizens who were indebted to British subjects, to exclaim against the payment of British debts. In some states they did it effectually, particularly in Virginia, where the great loss of negro property proportionably strengthened the objection. This was followed by a refusal to deliver up the posts; and by relieving the garrisons, which announced a set-

tled determination to keep them. This act within the territory solemnly ceded to the United States, and the encouragement it has given to the Indians to murder our frontier inhabitants, have occasioned great and general alarm and discontent, with regard to the intentions of the British administration.

From a variety of information, which I received in the western country, it appeared clear to me that the interest of individuals in the fur trade was the real reason of the information from America, which occasioned the detention of those posts, and that while Mr. Haldiman influences, such representations would be made to the king's ministers as would mislead them as to the real consequences of that detention. If it be their intention fundamentally to violate the treaty, and to keep the means in their own hands of hostile operations against the United States, the measure may correspond with the object ; but if not, it is, may I be permitted to say, an unadvised measure, because it implies such intentions. That it encourages the Indian nations to expect that they will be urged on by both nations to blood and plunder, the darling objects of their life, is certain ; and in so doing it militates against the interest and honour of both governments ; for the more these wolves are fed with human blood or the hope of it, and supplied with what they want in plunder and presents, the less they will hunt, and the scarcer and dearer furs will be. Insomuch that I think it certain that a convention solemnly entered into and announced by Great Britain and the United States never to employ or countenance Indians in making war or depredating on each other would not only do honour to their humanity but really promote their interests by the abundance and cheapness of furs, in consequence of the savages having no other employment or support but hunting. These reasons are alone cogent enough against the

abominable practice of instigating and assisting these savages to shed human blood, and the notorious inutility of these savages as auxiliaries in war. The great expense and disorder that accompanies them; the ungovernable depredation and cruelty of their warfare, and their certain desertion in time of danger, render the employment of them by civilized nations both ruinous and reproachful.

There are very few things I do assure you, my lord, that would give me so much pleasure as spending some time in your society, wherein I have been heretofore so happy. But the state of our finances in this country, both public and private, will not permit me to travel. The prospects I once had in England are now no more, yet I will not give up all hope of one day paying my respects to your lordship, and shall always cherish your regard for me as a singular honour and happiness. My nephew, Thomas Lee, will have the honour of presenting this letter to your lordship. He comes to finish his law studies at the temple. Your lordship's patronage of him will be a singular happiness to him and favour to me. I hope you will find him intelligent and capable of giving your lordship a satisfactory account of this country.

With the most perfect esteem and respect, I have the honour to be your lordship's most obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE."

APPENDIX IX.

Letters to Arthur Lee, from his Political, Literary, and Scientific Correspondents
in America.

LETTERS FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON.

"HEAD QUARTERS, PASSAIC FALLS, Nov. 20th, 1780.

Sir,—I am much obliged to you for the suggestion you do me the favour to make in your letter of the 11th, as I shall at all times be for any others which may occur to you, conducive to the public service.

I am so entirely convinced of the absolute necessity of a large and immediate foreign aid of money to the continuance of the war, that I should be happy to do any thing I could with propriety to promote it. I impart to you in confidence, that I have in the most explicit manner given my sentiments on this head to the minister of France here; and if my opinion can have any influence with the court of Versailles, I imagine it will be known through this channel. A more direct communication might appear an intrusion, and an interference in matters out of my province.

I am happy to hear congress have this important object under consideration. I persuade myself they will urge it with all the emphasis in their power, and in the form most likely to succeed. If there should be any thing by which I could contribute to the suc-

cess of the application, I should certainly think it my duty to give all the aid in my power.

I have the honour to be, very sincerely, and with real respect and esteem, sir, your most humble servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON."

"HEAD QUARTERS, NEW-WINDSOR, June 7th, 1781.

Dear Sir,—I have had the honour to receive the letter which you did me the favour to write on the 19th ultimo, and thank you for the extract taken from the letter of Mr. Lee of Feb. 20th. The information contained in it is important, and went to some matters which were new to me. I suspect with you that Mr. Lee is rather too sanguine in his expectations of a general peace, within the year, but he accompanies it with a recommendation to vigorous exertions, the most likely means to obtain it, but which I fear will not have its due weight in the minds of the people, especially if the idea of peace once takes hold of them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEO. WASHINGTON."

"NEWBURGH, April 15th, 1782.

Dear Sir,—I have received your favour of the 2nd instant, and thank you for the several articles of European intelligence contained in it. Permit me to solicit a continuation of such advices as you may think interesting respecting the military or political manœuvres of foreign powers. Such communications will

not only be a private gratification, but may produce public good ; as a perfect knowledge of these matters will enable me to decide with more certainty and precision on doubtful operations which may be had in contemplation, than I possibly can do without.

With great esteem and regard I am dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON."

" NEWBURGH, March 29th, 1783.

Dear Sir,—I have been honoured with your favour of the 13th, and thank you for the information. Your correspondent at Paris had good ground for his opinion, and we have abundant reason to be pleased with the event which he predicted the near approach of. I heartily congratulate you on the conclusion of the war ; and hope the wisdom of the states will point to that line of policy which will make them a great, a happy people. To accomplish this, local politics and unreasonable jealousies should yield to such a constitution as will embrace the whole, and make our union respectable, lasting. Without it I think we have spent our time, spilt our blood, and wasted our treasure to very little purpose.

The picaroons in the Chesapeak and the waters of it, have now met their quietus ; but previously to the news of peace a representation of their conduct had gone into New-York, and orders I believe were sent for the recall of them.

Mrs. Washington unites with me in compliments to you, and I have the honour to be dear sir, your most obedient servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON."

"PHILADELPHIA, May 20th, 1787.

Dear Sir,—I have been honoured with your favour of the 13th, since my arrival at this place.

My rheumatic complaint having very much abated (after I had the pleasure of seeing you at Mount Vernon) I have yielded to what appeared to be the wishes of many of my friends, and am now here as a delegate to the convention. Not more than four states were represented yesterday. If any have come in since, it is unknown to me. These delays greatly impede public measures, and serve to sour the temper of the punctual members, who do not like to idle away their time. Mrs. Washington intended to have given you the trouble of the enclosed, had it been prepared in time. As the case is, I take the liberty of committing it to your care.

I have the honour to be sir, your most obedient servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

The Hon. Arthur Lee."

LETTERS OF SAMUEL ADAMS.

"BOSTON, July 31st, 1771.

Sir,—Since I received your favour of the 28th of March, I have observed by the London papers that the lord-mayor and alderman are liberated. From the wisdom and firmness which formerly distinguished that opulent and independent city, we expected that when they had so fair an occasion for exerting themselves, the power which has too long oppressed and insulted the nation and the colonies, would have been made to bend. But we have seen complimenta-

ry letters and addresses to the imprisoned gentlemen, and their answers; while by a stretch of arbitrary power they have been kept in confinement, till by a prorogation instead of a dissolution, they have been discharged of course. Is this my friend a matter of such triumph? Does it not show that Britons are unfeeling to their condition? Or has brutal force at length become so formidable, that after having in vain petitioned those whose duty it is to redress their grievances, they are afraid to imitate the virtue of their ancestors in similar cases, and redress their grievances themselves?

Mr. Hume, if I mistake not, somewhere says, that if James the Second had had the benefit of the riot-act, and such a standing army as has been granted since his time, it would have been impracticable for the nation to have wrought its own delivery, and establish the constitution of '88. If the people have put it in the power of a wicked and corrupt ministry to make themselves absolute lords and tyrants over them by means of a standing army, we may at present pity them under the misfortune; but future historians will record the story with astonishment and indignation, and posterity, who will share in the fatal effects of their folly and treachery, will accuse them. Has there not for a long time past been reason to apprehend the designs of a restless faction to oppress the nation; and the more easily to affect their purposes, to render the king's government obnoxious, and if possible put an end to a family which has heretofore supported the rights of the nation, its happiness and grandeur?

In this colony we are every day experiencing the miserable effects of arbitrary power. The people are paying the unrighteous tribute, (I wish I could say they were groaning under it, for that would seem as if they felt they are submitting to it,) in hopes that

the nation will at length revert to justice. But before that time comes, it is to be feared they will be so accustomed to bondage, as to forget they were ever free. Swarms of locusts and caterpillars are maintained by this tribute in luxury and splendour, and a standing army, (not in the city thank God, since the 5th March 1770, but within call upon occasion). While our *independent* governor is found to crouch to his superiors, and to look down upon and sneer at those below him, he is from time to time receiving *instructions* how to govern this people, to govern! rather to harass and insult his country in distress. * * * *

(MS. here obliterated) * * * * where his adulating priestlings are reminding him he was *born* and *educated*, forgetting perhaps if they ever knew, that the tyrants of Rome were the *natives* of Rome. Among other edicts which have been lately sent to this governor, there is one which prohibits his assenting to any tax-bill, unless the commissioners and other officers, whose salaries are not paid out of moneys granted by this government, are exempted from a tax on the profits of their commissions. Nothing that I can say will heighten the resentment of a man of sense and virtue against such a mandate; and yet our governor would have us think it is a mark of his paternal goodness. Another instruction forbids the governor to give his assent to grants to any agent, unless he is appointed by a law of the province, or a resolve of the assembly, to which his excellency consents. And a third requires him to refuse his assent to a future election of such councillors as shall presume to meet together as a council, without being summoned by him into his presence. These instructions, so humiliating to the council, the secretary by the governor's order has entered on their journals.

It has been observed that the nearer any man approaches to an absolute independence, the more he

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It has been observed that the nearer any man approaches to an absolute independence, the more he

will be flattered ; and flattery is always great in proportion as the motives of flatterers are bad. These observations are so disgraceful to human nature that I wish I could say they were not founded in experience. Perhaps there never was a man in this province more flattered, or who bore it better, I mean who was *better pleased with it*, than Governor Hutchinson. You have seen Miss in her teens, surrounded with dying lovers, praising her gay ribbons, the dimples in her cheeks or the tip of her ear ! In imitation of the mother country, whom we are too apt to imitate in fopperies, addresses have been procured and presented to his excellency, chiefly from dependants and expectants. Indeed some of the clergy have run into the stream of civility, which is the more astonishing, when it is considered that they altogether depend upon the ability and good disposition of their parishes for their support. But it is certain that not a fifth part, some say not an eighth part of the clergy, were present. It cannot, therefore, be said to be the language of the body of the clergy, and all ages have seen that some of that order have ever been ready to sacrifice the rights as well as the honoured religion of their country, to the smiles of the great. It is a sore mortification that the independent house of representatives, and the town of Boston have refused to make their compliments to a man, whose administration since the departure of the Nettleham Baronet, they can by no means approve of. From hence you will judge whether these addresses speak the sentiments of the people in general, or are any more than the foul breath of sycophants and hirelings.

The province of North Carolina, by accounts from thence, appears to have been involved in a civil war. It is the general opinion here that the people in the back parts of that province have been greatly oppress-

ed, and that the governor, instead of hearkening to their complaints and redressing their grievances, has raised an army and spilt their blood. This it must be confessed, is treating the people under his government much in the same manner as his superiors have treated the nation and the colonies. But their example may prove dangerous to be followed by a plantation governor. At this distance from Carolina we have not yet received a perfect account from thence. I hope your friends in the adjacent colony of Virginia have wrote you particularly of this important matter. Tryon has arrived at New-York, where he is appointed governor. He has already been addressed with all the expressions of *court sincerity*, and perhaps he may hereafter receive the reward of a baronet for his fidelity and courage. ‘When vice prevails and impious men bear sway, the post of honour is the private station.’

I am with great esteem sir, your humble servant,
SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq. London.”

“ BOSTON, Sept. 27th, 1771.

Sir,—I am greatly indebted to you for your several letters of the 10th and 14th of June. To let you know I am far from being inattentive to the favours you have done me, I enclose a letter which I intended for you some time past, but was prevented forwarding it by an accident. I was afterwards confined to my house by sickness; since which, by an excursion into the country, I have fully recovered my health.

I take particular notice of the reasons you assign for a whole session of parliament being spent, without one offensive measure against America. You account for our being flattered, ‘that all the designs against

the charter of the colony are laid aside,' in a manner perfectly corresponding with the sentiments I had pre-conceived of it. The opinion you have formed of the ruling men on both sides the Atlantic, is exactly mine; and as I have the most unfavourable idea of the heads or the hearts of the present administration, I cannot hope for much good from the services of *any man* who can submit to be dependent on them.

I was pleased with the petition and remonstrance of the city of London. But are not the ministry lost to all sensibility? Do they not, like the Egyptian tyrant, harden their hearts against the just complaints of the people. May God grant the nation that prudence, strength, and fortitude, by which they may be animated to maintain their own liberties at all events! By your last letter you resolve wisely, 'if ever the spirit of impeaching should rise in Britain.' But how is it possible such a spirit should rise. In all former struggles the house of commons has naturally taken side with the people against oppressing ministers and favourites. Whether this is the case at present or not is no secret to the world. We have indeed heard little of the business of impeaching since the revolution; its corrupt *ministerial* influence has been gradually and too insensibly increasing since that era, and is now become so powerful as to render it impracticable to have one capital object of the people's just vengeance impeached. The proposals you were so kind as to send me, I cannot but heartily consent to; I communicated them to two or three intimate and judicious friends, who equally approved of them. But they cannot be carried into execution until the present parliament is at an end; and if it is not to be dissolved till the end of its septennial duration is it not to be feared that before its expiration there will be an end of liberty? If I mistake not, there is an act of parliament whereby the placemen and pension-

ers in the house of commons (who were not such at the time of their election) shall be vacated, and the electors have a right to choose others if they see proper. Perhaps there never was a time when the advantages of this law were more apparent. Would it not then be doing the most important service to the cause of liberty, if the gentlemen of the bill of rights, who I pray God may never be united in the councils, would exert their utmost influence to prevail upon the constituents of such *rotten* members to claim that privilege and make good use of it. If there is any virtue among the people I should think this might easily be done. If it be impracticable I fear another general election of members would only serve to convince *all* of what we are all apprehensive of, that there is a total depreciation of morals and manners in the nation, or in fewer words, that it is already irrecoverably ruined.

If it should ever become a practicable thing to impeach a corrupt administration, I hope that minister who advised to the introduction of an arbitrary government into America, will not be overlooked. Such a victim I imagine will make a figure equal to Lord Strafford in the reign of Charles, or many others in future times. The conduct of judges, touching juries, appears to be alarming on both sides the water, and is a subject of strict enquiry. But are they not endeavouring to establish the civil law, which Blackstone says is only *permitted* in England, to the prejudice of the common law.* And will not this in its consequence prove fatal to your happy constitution? I observe one of your proposals is, that a law may be made subjecting each candidate to an oath against having used bribery and corruption to obtain his election. Would there not be a danger that a law by which a candidate may purge himself by his oath,

* I suppose within restrictions, as in ancient times.

would exclude some other more certain evidence of the truth than his own declaration even upon oath, after having perhaps already prostituted his conscience for his seat? I am of opinion that he who can be so sordid as to gain an election by bribery, or any other illegal means, must be lost to all such feelings as those of honour or conscience, or the obligation of an oath. With regard to the grievances of the Americans, it must be owned, that the violation of the essential right of taxing themselves, is a capital one. This right is founded in nature. It is unalienable, and therefore it belongs to us exclusively, without a sharer, much less a rival. The least infringement of it is sacrilege. But there are other methods taken by Lord Hillsborough, and punctually put into execution by Mr. Hutchinson, which in my opinion would give a mortal stab to our essential rights, if the parliament had never by their declaratory act claimed authority to tax us; and to appropriate the money for the establishment of standing armies, and the support of pensioners and placemen, civil and ecclesiastic, which are as terrible as an army of soldiers. And if the commons of this province cannot impeach, we have nothing under God to rely upon but the interposition of our friends in Britain, or the *Ultima Ratio*. In short, our civil constitution is essentially altered. We are in a state of perfect despotism. Instead of having a governor, exercising authority within the rules and circumspection of the charter, which is the civil compact between the king and the people, and dependent on them for his support, we have a man with the name of a governor only. He is indeed commissioned by the king, but under the control of the minister, to whom he yields unlimited obedience; while he is subsisted with the money of the people, by virtue of an assumed authority of the British parliament, to oblige them to pay him such a stipend as the king

shall order. Can you tell me who is governor of this province? Surely not Mr. Hutchinson; for I cannot conceive that he exercises the power of judging, vested in him by the constitution, in one act of government which appears to him to be important. The government is shifted into the hands of the earl of Hillsborough, whose sole counsellor is the Nettleham baronet. Upon *such* a governor, aided by the advice of *such* a counsellor, depends the time and the place of sitting of the legislative assembly, or whether it shall sit at all! If they are allowed to meet, they are to be dictated to by this duunivirate, through the instrumentality of a third, and may be thrown out of existence for failing in one point to conform to their sovereign pleasure! A legislature to be sure, worthy to be boasted of by a free people. If our *nominal* governor, by all the arts of persuasion, can prevail upon us to be easy under such a mode of government, he will do a singular piece of service to his lordship; as it will save him the trouble of getting our charter vacated by a formal decision of parliament, or through a tedious process of law.

The grievances of Britain as well as ours, as you observe, spring from the same root of bitterness, and are of the same pernicious growth. The union of Britain and America is therefore by all means to be cultivated. If in every colony societies should be formed out of the most respectable inhabitants similar to that of the bill of rights, who should once in the year meet by their deputies, and correspond with such a society in London, would it not effectually promote such an union? And if it was conducted with a proper spirit, would it not afford sufficient reason for the enemies of our *common* liberty, however exalted, to tremble? This is a sudden thought, and drops undigested from my pen. It would be an arduous task

for any man to undertake to awaken a sufficient number in the colonies to so grand an undertaking. Nothing however is to be despaired of.

Enclosed you have a copy of the protests of divers patriotic clergymen in Virginia, against an episcopate in America. It is part of the system which is to secure a ministerial influence in America, which in all reason is full strong enough, without the aid of the clergy. The junction of the canon and the feudal laws, you know has been fatal to the liberties of mankind. The design of the first settlers of New-England, in particular, was to form a plan of government upon the true principles of liberty. It is no wonder then that we should be alarmed at the design of establishing such a power. It is a singular pleasure to us that the colony of Virginia, though episcopalian, should appear against it, as you will see by the vote of thanks of the house of Burgesses to the protesting gentlemen. The house declared the protests to be "a wise and well timed opposition." I wish they would be published in London. I had the pleasure of knowing Mr. Hewit, who was in this town about two years ago in company with Mr. Eyre, of North Hampton county, in Virginia, who is a member of the house of Burgesses. I did not then know that he was a clergyman.

I fear I have tired your patience, and conclude with assuring you that I am in strict truth sir, your friend and humble servant,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq.

P. S.—The bearer of this is William Story, formerly of this town, but now of Ipswich. He was a deputy register in the court of vice admiralty before and at the time of the stamp-act, and would then have given up the place as he declared, but his friends

advised him against it. He suffered the resentment of the people on the 26th of August 1765, together with Gov. Hutchinson, for which he was recompensed by the general assembly, as he declared, in part only. He tells me that his design in going home is to settle an affair of his own in the court of admiralty, in which the commissioners of the customs, as he says, declare it is not in their power to do him justice; one would think it never was in their power or their inclination to do justice to any man. Mr. Story has professed himself to be a warm friend of liberty for many years past. I tell him I make no doubt but you will befriend him as far as shall be in your power, in obtaining justice; in which you will oblige your humble servant,

S. ADAMS."

" BOSTON, Oct. 2d, 1771.

Sir,—I have already written to you by this conveyance, and there mentioned to you Mr. Story, a gentleman to whose care I committed that letter. I have since heard that he has a letter to Lord Hillsborough from Gov. Hutchinson, which may possibly recommend him for some place by way of compensation for his joint sufferings with the governor. I do not think it possible for any man to receive his lordship's favour, without purchasing it by having done or promising to do some kind of jobs. If Mr. Story should form connexions with administration upon any principles inconsistent with those of a friend to liberty, he will then appear to be a different character from that which I recommended to your friendship. I mention this for your caution, and in confidence; and am with great regard sir, your humble servant,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

or and the lieutenant-governor are brothers by marriage.

The house of representatives, notwithstanding the advantages which a new governor always has in his hands, I have reason to think will be so firm as at least not to give up any essential right. The body of the people are uneasy at the large strides that are made and making towards an absolute tyranny. Many are alarmed, but are of different sentiments with regard to the next step to be taken. Some indeed think that every step has already been taken *but one*. The *ultimo ratio* would require prudence, unanimity, fortitude. The conspirators against our liberties are employing all their influence to divide the people; partly by intimidating them, for which purpose there is a fleet with an admiral, lying within gun-shot of the town, and the capital fort within three miles of it, is garrisoned by the king's troops; and partly by arts and intrigue; flattering those who are pleased with flattery; forming connexions with them, introducing levity, luxury, and indolence, and assuring them that if they are quiet the ministry will alter their measures. This is the general appearance of things here, while the people are anxiously waiting for some happy event from your side the water. For my own part I confess I have no great expectation from thence; I have long been of opinion that America herself, under God, must finally work out her own salvation.

I have been told by a friend that a manuscript entitled a 'Hue and Cry,' upon the subject of the trials of Preston and the soldiers, has been sent from hence for your perusal. Had I seen and thought it answerable to what I have heard of it, I should have endeavoured to have had it published here. I wish if you think it worth while, it might be published in London, subject entirely to your correction and amend-

ment. But after all, what will the best and most animating publications signify, if the many are willing to submit and be enlaved by the few?

I wrote you about a fortnight past by Capt. Hood, and have nothing more to add at present but that I am sincerely your friend and humble servant,

S. A."

"BOSTON, 13th Nov. 1771.

My Dear Sir,—Several vessels have lately arrived from London, but I have not had the pleasure of a line from you by either of them. Since the resolve of council, by which Junius Americanus was so severely censured, there has been a proclamation issued by the governor with their advice for a general thanksgiving, which has been the practice of the country at this time of the year from its first settlement. This *pious* proclamation has given the greatest offence to the people in general, as it appears evidently to be calculated to serve the purposes of the British administration, rather than that of religion.

We were the last year called upon to thank the Almighty for the blessings of the administration of government in this province, which many looked upon as an impious farce; now we are demurely exhorted to render our humble and hearty thanks to the same omniscient Being, for the *continuance* of our civil and religious privileges, and the *enlargement* of our trade! This, I imagine, was contrived to try the feelings of the people; and if the governor could dupe the clergy as he had the council, and they, the people, so that the proclamation should be read as usual in our churches, he would have nothing to do but acquaint Lord Hillsborough, that the people in general acquiesced in the measures of government, since they had appeared to admit with —— himself, that notwithstanding

standing the faction and turbulence of a party, their liberties were continued and their trade enlarged. I am at a loss to say whether this measure is more insolent to the people or affrontive to the majesty of Heaven ; neither of whom however a modern politician regards, if at all, so much as the smiles of his noble patron. But the people saw through it in general, and openly declared that they would not hear the proclamation read ; the consequence of which was, that it was read in only two of all the churches in this town, consisting of twelve, besides three Episcopal churches ; there indeed it has not been customary ever to read them ; of those two clergymen who read it, one of them being a stranger in the province, and having been settled but about six weeks, performed a servile task about a week before the usual time, when the people were not aware of it ; they were however much disgusted at it. The other is a known flatterer of the governor, and is the very person who formed the fulsome address, of which I wrote you some time ago ; he was deserted by a great number of his auditory in the midst of his reading.

Thus every art is practised, and every tool employed to make it appear as if this people were easy in their claims, and that this great revolution is brought about by the inimitable address of Mr. Hutchinson.

There is one part of the proclamation which I think deserves notice on your side of the water ; and that relates to the accommodation with the Spaniards, in the affair of Falkland Island. This must have been referred to under the terms of the preservation of the peace of Europe.

From what I wrote you last I fancy you cannot wonder if the governor carries any thing he pleases in his *Divan* here. His last conduct has exposed him more than any thing. *Ne lude cum sacris*, is a common proverb. Should he once lose the reputation,

which his friends have with the utmost industry been building up for him among the clergy for these thirty years past, as a *consummate saint*, he must fall like Sampson when his locks were shorn. The people are determined to keep their day of festivity, but not for all the purposes of the infamous proclamation.

I beg you would omit no opportunity of writing to me, and be assured that I am in a style too much out of fashion, your friend,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

"BOSTON, January 14th, 1772.

Sir,—Your latest letter to me is of the 10th June, since which I have several times written to you and have been impatiently waiting for your farther favours. I suppose by this time the parliament is sitting for the despatch of business, and we shall soon discover whether administration have had it in their hearts, as we have been flattered, to recede from their oppressive measures, and repeal the obnoxious revenue acts. Is it not a strange mode of expression of late years made use of, that *administration intends* that this law shall be enacted, or that repealed? It is language adapted to the infamy of the present times, by a nation which boasts of the freedom and independency of her parliaments. I believe almost any of the *American assemblies* would highly resent such an imperious tone, even in the *honourable board* of commissioners of the customs, who I dare say think themselves equal in dignity, at least in proportion to the different countries, to his majesty's ministers of state. A Bostonian, I assure you, would blush with indignation to hear it said that his majesty's commissioners of the customs (though perhaps they are of his excellency's privy council) had held a consultation at Butcher's

Hall, upon the affairs of the province, and that they had come to a conclusion that the house of representatives *should rescind* their late protest against any doctrines which tend to give royal instructions to the governor, the *force of laws*. This protest it is said, his majesty's wise ministers were so hugely affronted at, as to alter their determination upon a question, in which the fate of the British nation was involved, namely, whether our general assembly should sit at Cambridge or in Boston. I confess this was a question of such astonishing importance to the millions of Britons and their descendants, and decided no doubt with such refined discrimination of judgment, that is not so much to be wondered at, if all national wisdom is to be ascribed to such a bed of counsellors, who seem to have possessed themselves of all national power. But as the circumstances of things may alter, and his majesty may be obliged through necessity to have recourse to men of *common* understanding, when these are gone to receive their just rewards in another life, would it not be most proper that the parliament should be at least the *ostensive* legislature, for there is danger in precedents, and in time to come the supreme power of the nation may be the *duples* of a ministry, who may have no more understanding than themselves. It has been said that the king's ministers have for years past received momentary hints respecting the fabrication of American revenue laws and other regulations, from some very wise heads on this side of the water, and particularly of this place; and perhaps Great Britain may be more indebted to some *Bostonians* or residents in Boston than she may imagine, however reproachfully she may have spoken of them. Bernard publicly declared that he did not obtrude his *advice* on his majesty's ministers *unasked*; and therefore we may naturally conclude that my lord of Hillsborough,

(sublime as his understanding is) the minister in the department, stood in need of and *asked* his advice, when the baronet journalized the necessary measures of administration for the colonies, which he retailed in weekly and sometimes daily letters to his lordship. On his departure he recommended Mr. Hutchinson, though a Bostonian, ‘born and educated’ as one upon whom his lordship might depend as much as upon himself; and in this *one thing* I believe Bernard wrote the *truth*, for if they have not equal merit for their faithful services to administration, Mr. Hutchinson, I verily believe, has the greatest share. It is whispered here that the *honourable board* of commissioners have represented to administration that the present revenue is not sufficient to answer all demands, which are daily increasing, and therefore it will be necessary for *their lordships* to establish an additional fund. This is an important hint, which may relieve their lordships, unless a new manœuvre should succeed, of which we have an account in the Boston Gazette enclosed. By a vessel just arrived from London, the friends of government, as they call themselves, pretend that they have certain assurances from administration, that in three months we shall not be troubled with commissioners or standing armies. This, if we could depend upon court promises, would afford an agreeable prospect. But the root of all our grievances is the parliament’s taxing us, which they cannot do, but upon principles repugnant to and subversive of our constitution. If *their lordships*, the ministry, would be pleased to repeal the revenue acts, they would strike a blow at the root.

The grand design of our adversaries is to lull us into security, and make us easy while the acts remain in force, which would prove fatal to us.

I have written in great haste, and am sincerely
your friend and humble servant,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq., London."

"BOSTON, June 14th, 1772.

Dear Sir,—I now enclose letters written by Thomas Hutchinson and Oliver — and others of less importance, the originals of which have been laid before the house of representatives. The house have already resolved, by a majority of 101 out of 106 members, that the design and tendency of them is to subvert the constitution and introduce arbitrary power into the province. They are now in the hands of a committee to consider them farther, and report what is still proper to be done.

I think there is now a full discovery of a combination of persons who have been the principal movers, in all the disturbance, misery, and bloodshed, which has befallen this unhappy country. The friends of our great men are much chagrined.

I am much engaged at present, and will write you more fully by the next opportunity. In the mean time believe me to be with great esteem your unfeigned friend,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq.

Wednesday, June 16th, 1772.—The enclosed resolves are to be considered by the house this afternoon.

S. A."

"BOSTON, Nov. 3, 1772.

My Dear Sir,—Since my last we have advice that Lord Hillsborough is removed from the American department ; and although he makes his exit with the smiles and honours of the court, he has the curses of the disinterested and better part of the colonists ; not that it is thought his lordship is by any means to be reckoned the most inveterate and active of all the conspirators against our rights. There are others on this side the Atlantic, who have been more assiduous in plotting the ruin of our liberties, than ever. He and they are the more infamous, because the country they would enslave is that very country in which (to use the words of their adulators and expectants) they were 'born and educated.'

The character of Lord Dartmouth in point of moral virtue has been unexceptionable in America, for aught I have heard. I wish it could be ascertained of all his majesty's ministers and servants that they deserved such a character. It is the opinion I have of them that makes me tremble for his lordship, lest in the circle he should make shipwreck of his virtue. I am well informed that he has written a very polite letter to Hutchinson, in which he expresses a satisfaction in his conduct, and tells him he has always been of opinion that the king has a right to pay his governors and other officers. But surely he should have made himself thoroughly acquainted with the several political institutions and charters of the colonies, as well as the nature of free governments in general, before he explicitly and officially declared such an opinion. I wish the consideration that he has to correspond with the most artful, plausible, and insinuating men, and some of them the most malicious enemies of the common rights of mankind, might induce his lordship

to be upon his guard against too suddenly giving full credit to their representations, which perhaps was the capital mistake of his successors in office. Our conspirators were alarmed at his appointment ; and I believe are determined if they can, to impose upon his credulity, if he has any such weakness about him.

We are now alarmed with the advice that the judges of our superior court of law, have salaries appointed by the crown independent of the people, which has occasioned a meeting of this metropolis, the proceedings of which you have in the enclosed papers. At the first meeting on the Wednesday, and at the last adjournment on the Monday following, there was a respectable appearance of the inhabitants, though not so full as has sometimes been on occasions of much less importance, owing partly to its being the season of the year when the town is filled with our country folks, and every one is laying in provision for the approach of a long winter ; partly to the industry of the enemies, to prevent a full meeting, which they had before discovered, to prevent any meeting at all (for they dread nothing more;) and partly from the opinion of some, that there was no method left to be taken but *the last*, which is also the opinion of many in the country. However as I said before there was a respectable meeting ; and I think the town has taken a necessary step, (by appointing a committee of twenty-one persons, to correspond with each town in the province), to ascertain the true sense of the country with regard to our grievances, which being known it will be the easier to determine upon, and prosecute to effect, the methods which ought to be taken for a redress of them. The tories give out this in whisper, that they expect what they call a breeze before long, which they say they gather from the slow but regular approaches that are made. They begin perhaps to be apprehensive that the body of a

long-insulted people will bear the insult and oppression no longer than until they feel in themselves strength to shake off the yoke. These persons will form what judgment they please. If this is the determination of the people it is justifiable as far as the declaration of Mr. H—— himself has weight; for I am told by a gentleman whom I can credit, that in conversation he has said, *there was nothing in morality that forbade resistance.*

In your last you expressed your hopes of the removal of Hillsborough. I could not join with you; for if I am to have a master, let me have a severe one, that I may constantly have the mortifying sense of it. I shall then be constantly disposed to take the first fair opportunity of ridding myself of his tyranny. There is danger of the people being flattered with such partial relief as Lord Dartmouth may be able (if disposed) to obtain for them, and building upon vain hopes till their chains are riveted. Are they not still heaping guidance upon guidance? And while these grievances remain, to what purpose would it be if his lordship should get a few boyish instructions to the governor relaxed? Would this be a reason for a final submission to a tribute raised in support of the despotic power? The tribute is the indignity which I hope in God will never be patiently borne by a people, who of all the people on the earth, deserve most to be free.

I am astonished that Dr. Franklin has written no letter to the speaker.

I will write you by the next ship. In the mean time be assured that I am your friend and humble servant,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

" BOSTON, Nov. 31st, 1772.

My Dear Sir,—My last letter to you was of the 3d inst. I now enclose the proceedings of this town at a meeting appointed to receive the report of the committee, which is attested by the town-clerk, and published by order of the town.

Our enemies are taking all imaginable pains to disparage the proceedings, and prevent their having any effect in the country. They are particularly endeavouring to have it believed, that the vote was carried at a very thin meeting; and in the Court Gazette of last week have had the assurance to say, that there were not more than twenty persons present, and that not ten voted for it; whereas it was much such a meeting, or rather fuller than the last. The town of Roxbury, adjacent to this, have met, and against the efforts of the whole cabal have raised a committee of nine persons to take our proceedings into consideration, and report at an adjournment; having before voted the independency of the judges, '*a most dangerous innovation.*' Plymouth, another large town, forty miles distant, has also met, but we have not yet heard what has been done there; from the spirit of the petitions to their selectmen for a meeting, among the enclosed papers, I hope to send you an agreeable account. Other towns are in motion of their own accord, for our pamphlet is not yet sent into the country towns, Roxbury excepted. The conspirators are very sensible that if our design succeeds, there will be an apparent union of sentiments among the people of this province, which may spread through the continent. You cannot then wonder that their utmost skill is employed to oppose it.

I intended to have sent my last by Capt. Scott, but having failed in that design, I herewith enclose it.

I am disappointed if I do not receive a letter from you by every vessel that arrives here. Be assured that I am with great esteem sir, your humble servant,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

" BOSTON, April 9th, 1773.

My Dear Sir,—I must by no means omit to request you to present my most respectful compliments to the Society of the Bill of Rights, and return them my hearty thanks for the great honour they have done me in admitting me one of their members. The gentlemen may be assured that this unexpected mark of their respect adds to the obligation which I have ever held myself under, to employ the small share of ability which God has given me in vindicating the rights of my country and of mankind.

I can now assure you that the efforts of this town at their meeting in November last, have had effects which are extremely mortifying to our falling tyrants. Every art and every instrument was made use of to prevent the meetings of the towns in the country, but to no purpose. It is no wonder that a measure calculated to promote a correspondence and a free communication among the people, should awaken their apprehensions; for they well know it must detect their falsehood in asserting, that the people of this country were satisfied with the measures of the British parliament, and the administration of government. Our governor has in my opinion merited greatly of the ministry, by his constant endeavours, though in vain, to sooth and quiet the people, and persuade them to think there were no grievances "to be seen, felt, or understood;" and when the house of representatives

in the last May session by almost an unanimous vote remonstrated against his independency, he, without the least foundation in truth, and for no other reason than I can conceive but to give countenance to his patron Hillsborough, or to establish himself in his government, which he received with so great *reluctance*, did not scruple in his speech at the close of that session, to insinuate that the house were under the influence of a few factious members. No speech of Bernard ever gave greater disgust to the people, nor with more reason.

There has been another session of the general assembly, which began unexpectedly the sixth of January last. It is my opinion that it would have been postponed as usual of late till near the close of our political year, had it not been for the Boston town-meeting. I mean to prevent the designed effects of it, by giving an occasion to the small jobbers in the country to say, "that however expedient it might have been for them to have had their meetings before, it now becomes unnecessary and improper, since their representatives are soon to meet in general assembly." This had an influence on some of the towns; and his *excellency* I suppose judged it more probable that he should be able to manage the members of the house, and prevail upon them to "join with him in bearing testimony against the *unwarrantable* proceedings of Boston," if they came together without having the explicit sentiments of their constituents.

At the meeting of the assembly he thought proper to open a controversy with the two houses, for which I think Hillsborough would not thank him; for he has thereby defeated the favourite design of the ministry, which was to lull the people into security, and for the effecting of which design he had before thought himself, or endeavoured to make administration believe he was entitled to so great a share of

merit. The whole controversy is here enclosed. It has been published in most of the newspapers on the continent, and engages much of the attention of the other colonies. This, together with the proceedings of a *contemptible* town-meeting, has awakened the jealousy of all, and has particularly raised the spirit of the most ancient and patriotic colony of Virginia. Their manly resolves have been transmitted to the speaker of the house of representatives in a printed sheet of their journals, and our committee of correspondence have circulated them into every town and district through the province.

I wish I could hear something more of Lord D. to qualify him for his high office, than merely that he is a *good* man. Goodness I confess is an essential though too rare a qualification of a minister of state. Possibly I may not yet have been informed of the whole of his lordship's character. Without a greatness of mind adequate to the importance of his station, I fear he may find himself embarrassed with his present connexions. It can easily be perceived what principle induced Lord North to recommend to that department a nobleman characterized in America for piety ; but what would prevail on his lordship to join with such connexions, unless he had a consciousness that his own abilities were sufficient to defeat the plans of a corrupt administration, I am not able to conceive. It might be well for his lordship to be assured that there is now a fairer prospect than ever of a union among the colonies, which his predecessor felt, and had reason to feel, though he affected to despise it. Should the correspondence from Virginia produce a congress, and then an assembly of states, it would require the head of a very able minister to speak with so respectable a body. This perhaps is a mere fiction in the mind of a political enthusiast ; *ministers of state* are not to be disturbed with *dreams*.

I must now acknowledge your agreeable letter of the 24th of Dec. I cannot wonder that you almost despair of the British nation. Can that people be saved from ruin, who carry their liberties to market and sell them to the highest bidder? But America shall 'rise full-plumed and glorious from the mother ashes.' Our house of representatives have sent a letter to Lord Dartmouth. This must without question be a wise measure, though I must own I was not in it; I feared it would lead the people to a false dependence; I mean upon a minister of state, when it ought to placed, with God's assistance, *upon themselves*. You cannot better prepare him for the representations of the house than as you propose, by giving him a proper idea of Mr. Hutchinson. I am much obliged to you for your intention to hold up to the public the generosity of my esteemed friend Mr. Otis. I wish I could assure you that he is perfectly recovered.

April 12th. This day I have the pleasure of receiving yours of the 25th of January. Your putting me in mind of the honour done me by the Society of the Bill of Rights is very kind. I ought sooner to have acknowledged it. My omitting it was owing to being in a great hurry when I last wrote to you. I am sensible I am not one of the most regular correspondents; perhaps not so much so as I should be. I duly received, though I think not by Mr. Story, the letter which enclosed the answer to the resolution of the governor and council against Junius Americanus, which I immediately published in the Boston Gazette. It was read with great satisfaction by men of sense and virtue. I am heartily glad to find that the proceedings of this town are so pleasing to you. I have heard that Lord Dartmouth received one of our pamphlets with coldness, and expressed his concern that the town had come into such measures.

His lordship probably will be very much surprised to find a very great number of the towns in this province, (and the number daily increases,) concurring fully in sentiments with this metropolis ; expressing loyalty to the king and affection to the mother country, but at the same time a firm resolution to maintain their constitutional rights and liberties. I send you the proceedings of one town, which if you think proper, you may publish, as a specimen of the whole, for the inspection of an administration either misinformed and credulous to the greatest degree of human weakness, or obstinate in wilful error. They have lately employed eight regiments of British troops to bring an handful of unfortunate Caribs to a treaty dishonourable to the nation. How many regiments will be thought necessary to penetrate the heart of a populous country, and subdue a sensible, enlightened, and brave people to the ignominious terms of slavery ? Or will his lordship's superior wisdom direct to more salutary measures, and by establishing freedom in every part of the king's extensive dominions, restore that mutual harmony and affection which alone are wanting, to build up the greatest empire the world has ever yet seen ?

Mr. Wilkes was certainly misinformed when lie was told that Mr. H. had deserted the cause of liberty. Great pains had been taken to have it thought to be so ; and by a scurvy trick of lying, the adversaries effected a coolness between that gentleman and some others, who were zealous in that cause ; but it was of short continuance, for their falsehood was soon detected. Lord Hillsborough, as I suppose, was soon informed of the imaginary conquest, for I have it upon such grounds as I rely upon, that he wrote to the governor that he had it in command from the *highest authority* to enjoin him to promote Mr. H. upon every occasion. Accordingly, though he had

before been frowned upon, and often negatived both by Bernard and Hutchinson, the latter, who can smile sweetly even upon the man he hates, when he is instructed or it is his duty to do so, fawned and flattered one of the *heads of the faction*, and at length approved of him, when he was again chosen by an unanimous vote a councillor the last May. To palliate this inconsistent conduct, it was previously given out that Mr. H. had deserted the faction, and became as they term each other, a friend to government. But he had spirit enough to refuse a seat at the board, and continue a member of the house, where he has in every instance joined with the friends of the constitution in opposition to the measures of a corrupt administration; and in particular no one has discoursed with more firmness against the independency of the governor and the judges than he.

I have mentioned to Mr. Cushing the hint in your last, concerning his not answering your letters. I believe he will write you soon. The gratitude of the friends to liberty towards Mr. Otis for his eminent services in times past, induces them to take all occasions to show him respect. I am much obliged to you for the friendship you have discovered for him, in holding up to the view of the public his generosity to Robinson.

Your brother in Virginia has lately honoured me with a letter, and I intend to cultivate a correspondence with him, which I am sure must be greatly to my advantage.

As you have confided in me to recommend one or more gentlemen of this place as candidates for the Society of the Bill of Rights, I can with the greatest integrity nominate my two worthy and intimate friends, John Adams and Joseph Warren, Esqrs. the one eminent in the profession of law, and the other equally so in that of physic, both of them men of an

unblemished moral character, and zealous advocates for the common rights of mankind.

I am with great regard dear sir, your friend,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

"BOSTON, April 22nd, 1773.

My Esteemed Friend,—I have written you a long epistle by this conveyance, and yet as the vessel is detained by a contrary wind, I cannot help indulging the mood I am in to chat a little more with you. When I mentioned Mr. Hancock in my last, I forgot to tell you that he is colonel of a company, called the governor's company of cadets. Perhaps in this view only he was held up to Mr. Wilkes, when he was informed that he had deserted the cause. But it should be known it is not in the power of the governor to give a commission for that company to whom he pleases, as their officers are chosen by themselves. Mr. Hancock was elected by an unanimous vote ; and a reluctance at the idea of giving offence to an hundred gentlemen, might very well account for the governor giving the commission to Mr. H., without taking into consideration that most powerful of all other motives, *an instruction*, especially at a time when he vainly hoped he should gain him over. I have been the more particular, because I know our adversaries avail themselves much by propagating reports that persons who have signalized themselves as patriots have at length forsaken their country. Mr. Otis yesterday was engaged in a cause in the admiralty on the side of Dawson, commander of one of the king's cutters. At this some of the minions of power triumph, and say they have got over to their side the greatest champion in our cause. I have not yet dis-

covered in the faces of their masters, an air of exultation at this event; and indeed how can they boast of the acquisition of one, whom they themselves have been the most ready to expose as distracted.

I send you a complete printed copy of our controversy with the governor, at the end of which you will observe some errors noted which escaped the press.

This letter goes under care of Mr. Cushing's to Dr. Franklin. The franks you favoured me with I shall make use of as necessity shall require.

I am yours affectionately,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

" BOSTON, May 6th, 1773.

My Dear Sir,—My last letter to you I sent by Capt. Symmes, who sailed a few days ago. This town met yesterday, and made choice of their representatives for the year ensuing. Enclosed is a copy of the town's instructions. It is a very common practice for this town to instruct their representatives; which among other good purposes serves to communicate their sentiments and spirit to the other towns, and may be looked upon as fresh appeals to the world. I perceive by the late London newspapers that the governor's first speech had arrived there, and had been very sensibly remarked upon by Junius Americanus. This warm and judicious advocate for the province I apprehend was mistaken in saying, that the supreme authority of the British parliament to legislate for us has been always acknowledged here; when he reads the answer of the house to the speech, he will find the contrary clearly shown, even from Gov. Hutchinson's history. What will be the consequence of this controversy, time must discover; it must be placed to

the credit of the governor, that he has quickened a spirit of enquiry into the nature and end of government, and the connexion of the colonies with Great Britain, which has for some time past been prevailing among the people. *Magna est veritas et prevalebit;* I believe it will be hardly in the power even of that powerful nation, to hold so inquisitive and increasing a people long in a state of slavery.

Pray write to me as often as you can find leisure, and be assured I am sincerely your friend and servant,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

" BOSTON, May 17, 1773.

Dear Sir,—My last was by Capt. Calif, enclosing a copy of the instructions of this town to their representatives. Our general assembly will meet next week; what kind of a budget the governor will then open is uncertain. It is whispered he intends to bring about the coalition of parties; but how he will attempt it, I am at a loss to conceive. Surely he cannot think that the body of this people will be quieted, till there is an end put to all oppressions they are under; and he dares not propose a coalition on such terms, because it would disgust those who are the instruments of and sharers in the oppression. Besides, I am inclined to think he never will be able to recover so much of the people's confidence, as to make his administration easy. A few of his letters we have seen, but are restrained at present from publishing. Could they be made generally known, his friends must desert him. It is a pity when the most important intelligence is communicated with such restrictions, as that it serves rather to gratify the curi-

osity of a few, than to promote the public good. I wish we could see the letters he has written since his advancement to the government. His friends give out that they "are replete with tenderness to the province." If so, *I speak with assurance*, they are the reverse of those which he wrote before.

I send you for your amusement the copy of a vote passed by this town at an adjournment of their meeting a few days ago, and remain in sincerity your friend,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq.

P. S.—You cannot write to me too often."

"BOSTON, June 21st, 1773.

Dear Sir,—I wrote in very great haste a few days ago, and then enclosed a printed copy of letters signed Thomas Hutchinson, Andrew Oliver, &c., with certain resolutions formed by a committee, and brought into the house of representatives. Those resolutions have been since considered by the house, and with very little variation adopted; as you will see by the enclosed. Upon the last resolve there was a division of 85 to 28; since which, five of the minority altered their minds; two other members came into the house, and desired to be counted; so that finally there were 93 in favour and 22 against it. Many if not most of the latter voted for all the other resolves. A petition and remonstrance against Hutchinson and Oliver will be brought in I suppose this week. I think enough appears by these letters to show, that the plan for the ruin of American liberty was laid by a few men, 'born and educated' amongst us, and governed by avarice and a lust of power. Could they be removed from his majesty's service and confidence

here, effectual measures might then be taken to restore '*Placidam sub Libertate Quietam.*' Perhaps however you may think it necessary that *some* on your side of the water should be impeached, and brought to condign punishment. In this I shall not differ with you.

I send you our last election sermon, delivered by Mr. Turner. The bishop of St. Asaph's I have read with singular pleasure.

I remain sincerely your friend,

SAMUEL ADAMS."

" BOSTON, June 28th, 1773.

Dear Sir,—My last was by Capt. Collson, by the way of Bristol, enclosed in a frank cover. I then informed you of the passing a number of resolves in the house of representatives upon certain letters that had been under their consideration. Since which the house have by a division, 121 to 82, voted a petition and remonstrance, praying that Gov. Hutchinson, and Lieut.-Gov. Oliver, may be removed from their posts. A copy of which is sent to Dr. Franklin by this vessel, who is directed to apply to Arthur Lee, Esq. and any other gentlemen, as council. Upon my motion, the Dr. was directed to make application to you solely; but the next day it was questioned in the house whether you were yet initiated into the profession of law, and the addition was made upon the doubt, which I was sorry I had it not in my power to remove. However, you must be applied to; every friend of liberty, or which is the same thing, nine-tenths of the house, having the greatest confidence in your integrity and abilities.

You have herewith enclosed a copy of the proceedings of the council upon the same subject. The peo-

ple are highly incensed against the two impeached gentlemen. They have entirely lost the esteem of the public; even some of their few friends are ashamed to countenance them.

The governor, as he has been one of the most obliged, has proved himself to be a most ungrateful man. He appears to me to be totally disconcerted. I wish I could say, humbled.

The house are now considering the independency of the judges; a matter which every day grows still more furious, and employs much of the attention of the people without doors, as well as of the members of the house. I wish that Lord Dartmouth and the rest of the great officers of the crown, could be prevailed upon duly to consider, that British Americans cannot long endure a state of tyranny.

I expect the general assembly will be up in a few days. I will then write you more particularly. In the mean time I remain your friend,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

" BOSTON, Nov. 9th, 1773.

My Dear Sir,—I have but just time to enclose you a newspaper, by which you will see that Lord Sh—ne was not mistaken when he said that ‘things began to wear a very serious aspect in this part of the world.’ I wish that Lord Dartmouth would believe, that the people here begin to think that they have borne oppression long enough, and that if he has a plan of reconciliation he would produce it without delay; but his lordship must know, that it must be such as will satisfy Americans. One cannot foresee events; but

from all the observation I am able to make, my next letter will not be upon a trifling subject.

I am with great respect, your friend,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

"BOSTON, Dec. 31, 1773.

My Dear Sir,—I am now to inform you of as remarkable an event as has yet happened since the commencement of our struggle for American liberty. The meeting of the town of Boston, an account of which I enclosed in my last, was succeeded by the arrival of the ship Falmouth, Captain Hall, with 114 chests of the East India Company's tea, on the 28th of November last. The next day the people met in Faneuil hall, without observing the rules prescribed by law for calling them together; and although that hall is capable of holding 1200 or 1300 men, they were soon obliged for the want of room to adjourn to the Old South meeting-house; where were assembled upon this important occasion 5000, some say 6000 men, consisting of the respectable inhabitants of this and the adjacent towns. The business of the meeting was conducted with decency, unanimity, and spirit. Their resolutions you will observe in an enclosed printed paper. It naturally fell upon the correspondence for the town of Boston to see that these resolutions were carried into effect. This committee, finding that the owner of the ship after she was unloaded of all her cargo except the tea, was by no means disposed to take the necessary steps for her sailing back to London, thought it best to call in the committees of Charlestown, Cambridge, Brookline, Roxbury, and Dorchester, all which towns are in the neighbourhood of this, for their advice and assistance.

After a free conference and due consideration, they dispersed. The next day, being the 14th, inst. the people met again at the Old South church, and having ascertained the owner, they *compelled* him to apply to the custom house for a clearance for his ship to London with the tea on board, and appointed ten gentlemen to see it performed ; after which they adjourned till Thursday the 16th. The people then met, and Mr. Rolch informed them that he had according to their injunction applied to the collector of the customs for a clearance, and received in answer from the collector that he could not consistently with his duty grant him a clearance, until the ship should be discharged of the dutiable article on board. It must be here observed that Mr. Rolch had before made a tender of the tea to the consignees, being told by them that it was not practicable for them at that time to receive the tea, by reason of a constant guard kept upon it by armed men ; but that when it might be practicable, they would receive it. He demanded the captain's bill of lading and the freight, both which they refused him, against which he entered a regular protest. The people then required Mr. Rolch to protest the refusal of the collector to grant him a clearance under these circumstances, and thereupon to wait upon the governor for a permit to pass the castle in her voyage to London, and then adjourned till the afternoon. They then met, and after waiting till sun-setting, Mr. Rolch returned, and acquainted them that the governor had refused to grant him a passport, thinking it inconsistent with the laws and his duty to the king, to do it until the ship should be qualified, notwithstanding Mr. Rolch had acquainted him with the circumstances above mentioned. You will observe by the printed proceedings, that the people were resolved that the tea should not be landed, but sent back to London in the same bottom ; and the pro-

perty should be safe guarded while in port, which they punctually performed. It cannot therefore be fairly said that the destruction of the property was in their contemplation. It is proved that the consignees, together with the collector of the customs, and the governor of the province, prevented the safe return of the East India Company's property (the danger of the sea only excepted) to London. The people finding all their endeavours for this purpose thus totally frustrated, dissolved the meeting, which had consisted by common estimation of at least seven thousand men, many of whom had come from towns at the distance of twenty miles. In less than four hours every chest of tea on board three ships which had by this time arrived, *three hundred and forty-two* chests, or rather the contents of them, was thrown into the sea, without the least injury to the vessels or any other property. The only remaining vessel which was expected with this detested article, is by the act of righteous heaven cast on shore on the back of Cape Cod, which has often been the sad fate of many a more valuable cargo. For a more particular detail of facts, I refer you to our worthy friend, Dr. Hugh Williamson, who kindly takes the charge of this letter. We have had great pleasure in his company for a few weeks past; and he favoured the meeting with his presence.

You cannot imagine the height of joy that sparkles in the eyes and animates the countenances as well as the hearts of all we meet on this occasion; excepting the disappointed, disconcerted Hutchinson and his tools. I repeat what I wrote you in my last; if lord Dartmouth has prepared his plan let him produce it speedily; but his lordship must know that it must be such a plan as will not barely amuse, much less farther irritate but conciliate the affection of the inhabitants.

I had forgot to tell you that before the arrival of either of these ships, the tea commissioners had preferred a petition to the governor and council, praying ‘to resign themselves and the property in their care, to his excellency and the board as guardians and protectors of the people, and that measures may be directed for the landing and securing the tea,’ &c. I have enclosed you the result of the council on that petition. He (the governor) is now, I am told, consulting *his* lawyers and books to make out that the resolves of the meeting are treasonable. I duly received your favours of the 23d June, of the 21st July and 13th October, and shall make the best use I can of the important contents.

Believe me to be affectionately your friend,
SAMUEL ADAMS.

P. S.—Your letter of the 23d August is but this moment come to hand. I hope to have leisure to write you by the next vessel. Our friend Dr. Warren has written to you by this; you will find him an agreeable and useful correspondent.

S. A.

Arthur Lee, Esq.”

“BOSTON, Dec. 25th, 1773.

My Dear Sir,—I wrote you a few days past by Capt. Scott, and then promised to write farther by the next opportunity; but not having heard of the sailing of this vessel till this moment, I have only time to recommend a letter written and directed to you by John Scollay, Esq. a worthy gentleman and one of the selectmen of this town. He desires me to apologise for his addressing a letter to one who is a perfect stranger to him, and to assure you that he

is persuaded there is no gentleman in London who has the liberties of America more warmly at heart, or is more able to vindicate them than yourself. You see the dependence we have upon you.

Excuse this *short epistle*, and be assured that as I am a friend to every one possessed of public virtue, with affection I must be constantly yours,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

"BOSTON, May 31st, 1774.

Sir,—Mr. Adams informs me that you kindly received the letter I wrote you in Dec. last; this information prompts me to address you again; letter-writing and on politics is not my province, but such are the times that that man's heart must be callous indeed that does not feel for his country, and that does not give it out in every way; in short we have all, from the cobbler up to the senator, become politicians. On the morrow that act, cruel act of our parent state, (or rather hard-hearted step-mother) called the Boston Port Bill is to take place, a bill fraught with vengeance against this town. However lord North will find out himself and that very soon that he over shot his mark. That which he intended should operate against Boston only, will effect every town in this province. The sea-port towns will feel the operation of the act, in a degree as much as Boston, Boston being the grand engine that gives motion to all the wheels of commerce. This being stopped, it will sensibly affect the whole trade of the province. All the sea-port towns depend on this, to take off by far the greatest part of their imports; they cannot send a vessel to sea again after her return from a voyage, till they send her cargo to Boston to be sold;

in short all the running cash in the province centres in this town. To this market all the trading towns repair with their goods to make money of them. Newburyport, Marblehead, and Salem, will most sensibly feel the shock, and if the blockade continues long they must haul up their vessels, for no place but Boston can take off their cargoes. It is a most melancholy consideration, that this town, which was and is now the most flourishing in trade and commerce, must be devoted to destruction, and in a few days be brought to the forlorn condition of a deserted village. Thousands that depend on their daily labour for support, must be reduced to the greatest degree of distress and want ; however they will suffer in a good cause, and that righteous Being, who takes care of the ravens which cry unto him, will provide for them and theirs. (The MS. is illegible from time.) For that purpose we have it in contemplation, if the blockade continues any length of time, to employ the poor in building a horse-bridge over Charles River, a river about as wide as the Thames. By this bridge Charlestown, a large and opulent town, will be joined to Boston ; this bridge will greatly facilitate the intercourse between Boston, Marblehead, and Salem, and other trading towns. When the news first arrived of lord North's proposing this bill in parliament, it was looked on as a mere hum. People could not think that a British house of commons would be so infatuated as to pass such a bill, to punish a whole town for a trespass that was committed in it by nobody knows who, and to carry it into execution without giving the town an opportunity to answer to the charge, is an unheard of proceeding. Although it was designed that this town should be ruined, yet I doubt not but that it will finally end in great good, not only to this town, but to all the colonies. I believe by this management his lordship's fabric, which

cost him so much labour and afforded him so much delight, will be demolished, and instead of despotism and tyranny over the colonies, a foundation will be laid for lasting peace and harmony between Great Britain and these colonies. This may be looked on as visionary, but I think the crisis is near when this must take place, which is the warmest wish of every free-hearted North American. We have too great a regard for our parent state (although cruelly treated by some of her illegitimate sons) to withdraw our connexion; of her we have no idea of an independency, and the colonies are too precious a jewel for the crown to part with; therefore I think that the wisdom of the English nation and that of the colonies united, might fall on some plan of conciliating their differences, and fix on some principles for each party to resort to, as the great charter of agreement between the king and his colonies. Such an event would make the colonies happy, and the British nation great and prosperous. As you will no doubt have the particulars of these matters handed to you by some of your friends, it will be needless for me to enlarge.

I hope you will excuse my troubling you with this epistle; and believe me to be, with great regard sir,
your most humble servant,

JOHN SCOLLAY.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

" BOSTON, April 4th, 1774.

My Dear Sir,—My last letter to you I delivered to the care of Dr. Williamson, who sailed with Capt. —— in December last. The general assembly has since been sitting, and the important subject of the judges of the superior court being made dependent on

the crown for their salaries, was again taken up by the house of representatives with spirit and firmness. The house had in a former session passed divers resolutions expressing their sense of the dangerous tendency of this innovation, and declaring that unless the justices should renounce the salaries from the crown, and submit to a constitutional dependence upon the assembly for their support, they would proceed to impeach them before the governor and council. One of them, Mr. Trowbridge, very early in the session, in a letter to the speaker, expressed his former compliance with that resolve, which letter was communicated to the house and voted satisfactory. The other four had taken no notice of the resolve. The house therefore having waited from the 26th of January, which was the first day of the session, till the 1st of February, then came to a resolution, that unless they should conform to their order on or before the fourth of the same month, farther proceedings would be had on such neglect. The effect of this resolve was, that three of them, viz:—Hutchinson, (a brother to him who is called governor), _____, _____, made similar declarations to that of Trowbridge, which were also voted satisfactory. Mr. Justice Oliver, who is brother of the lieutenant-governor, and is connected with the governor by the marriage of their children, came to a different determination; which occasioned a controversy between the governor and the two houses, inserted at large in the enclosed papers. Therein you will see that the governor has treated the petitions, complaints, and remonstrances of the representative body, with haughty contempt. The people view it with deep resentment as an effect of his independency; whereby he is aliened from them, and become a fitter instrument in the hands of the ministry to carry into effect their destructive plans.

They are irritated to the highest degree, and despair of any constitutional remedy against the oppressions of a corrupt officer, while the governor, *be he who he may*, is thus dependent on ministers of state. They have ever since the trial of Preston and his soldiers been murmuring at the conduct of the superior court, and the partiality which many say is so clearly discovered in causes between revenue officers and the government, abettors, and other subjects. Indeed, the house of representatives two or three years ago passed a resolution that such conduct in several instances had been observed, as appears in their printed journals. To give you some idea of what the temper of that court has been, a lawyer* of great eminence in the province, and a member of the house of representatives, was thrown over the bar a few days ago, because he explained in a public newspaper the sentiments he had advanced in the house when he had been misrepresented; and a young lawyer of great genius in this town, who had passed the regular course of study, (which is more than can be said of the chief-justice) has been and still is refused by the governor, only because he mentioned the name of Hutchinson with freedom, and that not in court, but in a Boston town-meeting some years before. And to show you from whence this influence springs, I must inform you that not long ago the governor, the lieutenant-governor, and three of the judges, which make a majority of the bench, were nearly related; and even now the governor has a brother there, and is brother-in-law to the chief-justice. Such combinations are justly formidable, and the people view them with a jealous eye. They clearly see through a system formed for their destruction. That the parliament of Britain is to make laws, binding them in all

* Joseph Hawley, Esq., of North Hampton.

cases whatsoever; that the colonies are to be taxed by that parliament without their own consent; and the crown enabled to appropriate money for the support of the executive and arbitrary powers; that this leaves their own assembly a body of very little significance; while the officers of government and judges, are to be totally independent of the legislature, and altogether under the control of the king's ministers and counsellors; and there an union will be effected, as dangerous as it will be powerful; the whole power of government will be lifted from the hands into which the constitution has placed it, into the hands of the king's ministers and their dependents here. This is in a great measure the case already; and the consequences will be, angry debates in our senate, and perpetual tumults and confusions abroad; until these maxims are entirely altered, or else, which God forbid, the spirits of the people are depressed, and they become inured to disgrace and servitude. This has long been the prospect in the minds of speculative men. The body of the people are now in council. Their opposition grows into a system. They are united and resolute. And if the British administration and government do not return to the principles of moderation and equity, the evil which they profess to aim at preventing by their rigorous measures, will the sooner be brought to pass, viz:—*the entire separation and independence of the colonies.*

Mr. Cushing obliged me with a sight of your letter to him of the 22d Dec. last. I think I am not so clearly of opinion as you seem to be, that 'the declaratory act is a mere nullity,' and that therefore 'if we can obtain a repeal of the revenue acts from 1764, without their pernicious appendages, it will be enough.' Should they retract the exercise of their assumed power, you ask when will they be able to renew it? I know not when, but I fear they will soon

do it, unless, as your worthy brother in Virginia in a letter I yesterday received from him expresses himself, ‘we make one uniform, steady effort to secure an explicit bill of rights for British America.’ Let the executive power and right on each side be therein stipulated, that Britain may no longer have a power or right to make laws to bind us, in all cases whatsoever. While the claim is kept up, she may exercise the power as often as she pleases; and the colonies have experienced her disposition to do it too plainly, since she in anger made the claim. Even imaginary power beyond right begets insolence. The people here I am apt to think will be satisfied on no other terms but those of redress; and they will hardly think they are upon equitable terms with the mother country, while by a solemn act she continues to claim a right to enslave them, whenever she shall think fit to exercise it. I wish for a permanent union with the mother country, but only on the principles of liberty and truth. No advantage that can accrue to America from such an union can compensate for the loss of liberty. The time may come sooner than they are aware of it, when the being of the British nation, I mean the being of its importance, however strange it may now appear to some, will depend on her union with America. It requires but a small portion of the gift of discernment for any one to foresee, that providence will erect a mighty empire in America; and our posterity will have it recorded in history, that their fathers migrated from an *island* in a distant part of the world, the inhabitants of which had long been revered for wisdom and valour. They grew rich and powerful; these emigrants increased in numbers and strength. But they were at last absorbed in luxury and dissipation; and to support themselves in their vanity and extravagance they coveted and seized the honest earnings of those industrious emigrants.

This laid a foundation of distrust, animosity and hatred, till the emigrants, feeling their own vigour and independence, dissolved every former band of connexion between them, and the *islanders* sunk into obscurity and contempt.

May I whisper in your ear that you paid a compliment to the speaker when you told him you ‘always spoke under the correction of his better judgment.’ I admire what you say to him, and I hope it will have a good impression on his mind; *that we shall be respected in England exactly in proportion to the firmness and strength of our opposition.*

I am sincerely your friend,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

As Capt. Wood is now about to sail, there is not time to have copies of the papers; I will send them by the next opportunity. In the mean time I refer you to Dr. Franklin, to whom they are sent by this vessel.

S. A.

{ Arthur Lee, Esq.”

. “ BOSTON, April —, 1774.

My Dear Sir,—Capt. Wood being still detained, I have the opportunity of acknowledging your favour of the 22d Dec. last, which is just now come to my hand. As Mr. Cushing received your letter of the same date near three weeks ago, I am at a loss to conjecture the reason of my not receiving it at the same time.

I do not depend much upon Lord Dartmouth’s inclination to relieve America, upon terms which we shall think honourable; upon his ability to do it, I have no dependence at all. He might have said with safety, when called upon by Lord Shelburne, that he had prepared a plan to pursue at the hazard

of his office; for I have reason to believe it was grounded upon the hopes that we could be prevailed upon, at least impliedly, to renounce our claims. This would have been an acceptable service to the ministry, and would have secured to him his office. No great advantage can be made against us from the letter which you mention to Lord Dartmouth from the two houses of our assembly; for upon a review of it I think the most that is said in it is, that if we are brought back to the state we were in at the close of the last war, we shall be as easy as we then were. I do not like any thing that looks like accommodating our language to the humour of a minister; and am fully of your opinion that ‘the harmony and concurrence of the colonies, is of a thousand times more importance in our dispute, than the friendship or patronage of any great man in England.’

At the request of our friend, Mr. Hancock, I beg your acceptance of an oration delivered by him on the fifth of March last. I intend to write to you again very soon; in the mean time I remain your assured friend,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq.”

“ BOSTON, May 18th, 1774.

My Dear Sir,—The edict of the British parliament, commonly called the Boston Port Act, came safely to my hand. For flagrant injustice and barbarity, one might search in vain among the archives of Constantinople to find a match for it. But what else could have been expected from a parliament, too long under the dictates and control of an administration, which seems to be totally lost to all sense and feeling of morality, and governed by passion, cruelty, and revenge. For us to reason against *such* an act, would be idle-

ness. Our business is to find means to evade its malignant design. The inhabitants view it, not with astonishment, but indignation. They discover the utmost contempt of the framers of it; while they are yet disposed to consider the body of the nation (though represented by such a parliament) in the character they have sustained heretofore, humane and generous. They resent the behaviour of the merchants in London, those I mean who receive their bread from them, in infamously deserting their cause at the time of extremity. They can easily believe that the industrious manufacturers, whose time is wholly spent in their various employments, are misled and imposed upon by such miscreants as have ungratefully devoted themselves to an abandoned ministry, not regarding the ruin of those who have been their best benefactors. But the inhabitants of this town must and will look to their own safety, which they see does not consist in a servile compliance with the ignominious terms of this barbarous edict. Though the means of preserving their liberties should distress and even ruin the British manufacturers, they are resolved (but with reluctance) to try the experiment. To this they are impelled by motives of self-preservation. They feel humanely to those who must suffer, but being innocent are not the objects of their revenge. They have already called upon their sister colonies, (as you will see by the enclosed note) who not only feel for them as fellow-citizens, but look upon them as suffering the stroke of ministerial vengeance in the common cause of America; that cause which the colonies have pledged themselves to each other not to give up. In the mean time I trust in God this devoted town will sustain the shock with dignity; and supported by their brethren, will gloriously defeat the designs of their common enemies. Calmness, courage, and unanimity prevail. While they are resolved not tamely to

submit, they will by refraining from any acts of violence, avoid the snare that they discover to be laid for them, by posting regiments so near them. I heartily thank you for your spirited exertions. Use means for the preservation of your health. Our warmest gratitude is due to lords Camden and Shelburne. Our dependence is upon the wisdom of the few of the British nobility. We suspect studied insult, in the appointment of the person who is commander-in-chief of the troops in America to be our governor; and I think there appears to be in it more than a design to insult upon any specious pretence. We will endeavour by circumspection and sound prudence, to frustrate the diabolical designs of our enemies.

I have written in haste, and am affectionately your friend,

S. A."

"CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 14th, 1775.

My Dear Sir,—A few days ago I received your letter of the 7th December, and was greatly pleased to find that you had returned from Rome at so critical a time. The sudden dissolution of the late parliament was a measure which I expected would take place. I must needs allow that the ministry have acted a politic part; for if they had suffered the election to be put off till the spring, it might have cost some of them their heads. The new parliament can with a very ill grace impeach them for their past conduct, after having so explicitly avowed it. The thunder of the late speech and the servile answers, I view as designed to serve the purposes of saving some men from the block. I cannot conclude that lord North is upon the retreat, though there seems to be some

appearance of it. A deception of this kind would prove fatal to us. Our safety depends upon our being in readiness for the extreme event. Of this the people here are thoroughly sensible, and from the preparations they are making I trust in God they will defend their liberties with dignity. If the ministry have not abandoned themselves to folly and madness the firm union of the colonies must be an important objection. The claims of the colonies are consistent (the MS. is illegible here) and necessary to their own existence as free subjects, and they will never recede from them. The tools of power here are incessantly endeavouring to divide them, but in vain. I wish the king's ministers would duly consider what appears to me a very momentous truth, that one regular attempt to subdue those in any other colony, whatever may be the first issue of the attempt, will open a quarrel, which will never be closed till what some of *them* affect to apprehend, and we sincerely deprecate, shall take effect. Is it not then high time that they should hearken not to the clamours of passionate and interested men, but to the cool voice of impartial reason? No sensible minister will think that millions of free subjects, strengthened by such an union, will submit to be slaves; no honest minister would wish to see humanity thus disgraced.

My attendance on the provincial congress now sitting here will not admit of my enlarging at present.

I will write you again by the next opportunity, and till I have reason to suspect our adversaries have got some of my letters in their possession. I yet venture to subscribe, yours affectionately,

S. ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

" BALTIMORE IN MARYLAND, Jan. 2d, 1777.

My Dear Sir,—It has been altogether from a regard to your safety that I have restrained myself from continuing on my part that correspondence which you was obliging enough to indulge for several years. I know very well that your avowal of and warm attachment to the cause of justice and truth, have rendered you exceedingly obnoxious to the malice of the British king and his ministers; and that a letter written by a zealous asserter of that cause addressed to you while you was in their power, would have brought upon you the resentment of that most cruel and vindictive court. But I cannot omit this opportunity of writing to you after so long a silence, to assure you that I am most heartily engaged according to my small ability, in supporting the rights of America and of mankind.

In my last letter to you near two years ago, I ventured to give you my opinion that if the British troops then in Boston, should attempt to march out in an hostile manner, it would most surely effect a total and perpetual separation of the two countries. This they did in a very short time; and the great event has since taken place, sooner indeed than I expected it would, though not so soon, in my opinion, as in justice it might, and in sound policy, it ought. But there is a timidity in our nature which prevents our taking a decisive part in the critical time, and very few have fortitude enough to tell a tyrant they are determined to be free. Our delay has been dangerous to us, yet it has been attended with great advantage. It has afforded to the world a proof, that oppressed and insulted as we were, we are very willing to give Britain an opportunity of seeing herself, and of correcting her own errors. We are now strug-

gling in the sharp conflict; confiding that righteous heaven will not look with an indifferent eye upon a cause so manifestly just, and so interesting to mankind.

You are now called to act in a still more enlarged sphere. Go on, my friend, to exert yourself in the cause of liberty and virtue. You have already the applause of virtuous men, and may be assured of the smiles of heaven.

Your brother, Mr. R. H. Lee, will give you a particular account of our affairs in America; nothing therefore remains for me to add, but that I am your very affectionate friend,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

"BOSTON, Aug. 1st, 1771.

(9)

It was not till the last week that I received your favour from Nantes of the 6th of March. Our friend Mr. Lovett sent it to me from Philadelphia. I resent the treatment you have met with in America with all the feelings of friendship. Among your enemies you may depend upon it there are some of the worst kind of men. I cannot help entertaining a violent suspicion that they are the enemies of their country. I am sure they cannot at present do a more vital injury to the great cause of America than by raising the popular jealousy and clamour against its earliest, most able, and persevering friends. This they are endeavouring to do not only with regard to you but others; and they are masters of so much sophistry as to deceive some who, as I think, are not so wary and suspicious of *them* as they ought to be. Mr. _____ in the opinion of some of his own party, was injudicious in his publication of the 5th Dec. last. They are at least

constrained to say it, whether they think so or not. It is the opinion of the best men, I know, that he has done more mischief than it will ever be in his power to atone for. I never had but one opinion of this man since the year 1774, when I first knew him, and that is, that he is commercial and interested. I believe he has for a twelvemonth past, thought it his interest to throw us into divisions and parties, and that he has been as influential in effecting it as any man in America. Interested men, men who are united in politics and commercial combinations are and must be his advocates. *Perhaps the persons whose names you mention in the last part of your letter, may be his secret but powerful supporters;* I do not pretend to affirm it. These men most certainly, should preserve their minds free from prejudice in disputes of this kind. *They* should stand totally unconnected with any party, as they would avoid doing injury to the joint cause of France and America, and lessening that strong attachment and mutual confidence between the two nations, which every true friend and subject of both wishes may long subsist.

Your letter to the editor of the Leyden Gazette, written upon your seeing Mr. —'s first publication, fell into my hands about a fortnight ago. I published it with a few loose observations in one of our newspapers. I have since had the pleasure of being informed, that you have sent to congress a reply to Deane's accusations, which has given great satisfaction to impartial men. I foresaw soon after his arrival, that your lot would be to suffer persecution for a while. This is frequently the portion of good men, but they are never substantially injured by it. Our friend and your late colleague,* in his letter to me, has mentioned you in the most honourable as well as

* John Adams.

the most friendly terms. I should have written to him by this opportunity, but I am led by yours to believe that my letter would not reach him. But if he should be in France when you receive this letter, pray mention my friendly regards to him, and let him know that his lady and family are in health.

The young gentleman who carries this letter is Mr. William Knox, brother to the general, and has the character of an honest friend to the liberties of his country; your kind notice of him as such, will oblige me.

I have many things to say to you; but the short notice I have had of the sailing of this packet, leaves me no time to add more than to assure you that I am, with perfect sentiments of friendship, yours, &c.

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

"PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 26th, 1777.

My Dear Sir,—Your several letters, with their enclosures, came to my hand. And although I have not hitherto acknowledged to you the receipt of them, I assure you I have been and am still improving the intelligence you have given me to the best of my power, for the advantage of this country. From our former correspondence you have known my sentiments. I have not altered them in a single point, either with regard to the great cause we are engaged in, or to you, who have been an early, vigilant, and active supporter of it. While you honour me with your confidential letters, I feel and will freely express to you my obligation. To have answered them severally, would have led me to subjects of great delicacy; and the miscarriage of my letters might have proved detrimental to our important affairs. It was needless for me to run the risk for the sake of writing; for I

presume you have been made fully acquainted with the state of our public affairs by the committee. And as I have constantly communicated to your brother R. H. the contents of your letters to me, it was sufficient on that score for him only to write, *for he thinks as I do.*

The Marquis de la Fayette, who does me the honour to take this letter, is this moment going; which leaves me time only to add, that I am and will be your friend, because I know you love our country and mankind.

I beg you to write to me by every opportunity.

Adieu, my dear sir,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

"BOSTON, Nov. 21st, 1782.

My Dear Sir,—In the late session of our general court, and in the hurry of important business, a petition was presented signed William Burgess, praying to be naturalized. This gentleman very lately arrived from England, by way of Holland. The senate declined sustaining his petition, and gave him leave to withdraw it. A few days after, an authenticated resolution of congress came to hand, recommending it to the states not to admit any British subject *whatever*. Yet this man has had interest enough to prevail on the assembly to permit him to go to congress, to have it decided there whether he comes within the meaning of their resolution, because his arrival here was prior to the reception of the resolution by this government. If it should be thought there was in this instance a want of attention, it must be imputed to the circumstance I first mentioned. The general court had before directed his departure from the state;

requesting the governor however, to allow him convenient time to prepare for his voyage, which appeared to me a sufficient indulgence. Some of our good citizens are disgusted at the favour shown to Mr. B. They say that being a partner with Messrs. Champion and Dickinson, the latter of whom is reported to have been always inimical to America by his residence here, he will probably be instrumental in the importation of as many English goods as he will be able to vend; or in other words, that the new house in Boston will be nearly if not quite as convenient in the time of war, as the old house in London was in time of peace. Whether there will be any danger, congress will judge. Jealousy is a necessary political virtue, especially in times like these. Such a plan would gratify those among us who are still hankering after the onions of Egypt, and would sacrifice our great cause to the desire of gain. What need is there of our admitting (to use the language of congress) any British subject *whatever?* Congress surely had some good reason when they so earnestly cautioned us against it. Our citizens are in more danger of being seduced by art, than subjugated by arms. I give you this notice that you may have an opportunity of conversing on the subject in your patriotic circles (if you think it worth while) in season. Mr. B. will set off next week in company with one of our new delegates, who I am satisfied will favour his cause. My friendly regards to Dr. Shippen, and my old friends in congress, if any such are there. Adieu.

Believe me to be very affectionately your friend,
SAMUEL ADAMS.

Hon. Doct. Lee."

" BOSTON, Nov. 21st, 1782.

My Dear Sir,—The bearer, General Whipple, just called on me in his way from Portsmouth to Philadelphia. He was formerly a member of congress. Give me leave to introduce him to you as ours and our country's friend.

I am very affectionately yours,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

" BOSTON, Dec. 2d, 1782.

My Dear Sir,—A friend of mine to whom I give entire credit, who lived many years in Canada, and was well acquainted with the bearer of this letter, requests me to introduce him to you. After a long confinement in prison in Quebec, where he was used with great severity, he found means to make his escape, and came to this town. He is a Frenchman by birth, and was a very respectable merchant in Canada. When the attempt was made to gain that country in 1775, he privately aided our forces; the suspicion of which rendered him obnoxious to the British government, and was the real cause of his suffering. He will inform you of the state and circumstances of British affairs there, and will tell you it is an easy thing to unite that province with these states. Possibly he may be influenced in some degree by a just resentment of the ill-treatment he has received; but other intelligent persons acquainted with the people of Canada, have zealously affirmed the same to me. If it be so, it is hoped that a favourable opportunity to effect it will be embraced, if any such should of-

fer. I need not hint to you the importance of that object. Adieu,

Your friend,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

"BOSTON, Feb. 10th, 1783.

My Dear Sir,—It is a long time since I had the pleasure of a letter from you. I hope you have not struck my name from the list of your correspondents. Mr. Stephen Higginson, who will deliver you this letter, is appointed a delegate of this state. He is a sensible and very worthy man, and I think entertains sentiments like yours. I am persuaded you will find him a valuable member, if his great modesty and diffidence of himself will allow him to step forward as far as his good understanding would lead him.

I feel myself constrained to mention to you the present situation of Capt. Landais, though not at his request, or the smallest intimation from him. He resides in this town, and sometimes calls to see me. As he appears to be an injured man, I wish that justice may be done to him; and I am the more solicitous about it, as I was, with your worthy brother Mr. R. H. instrumental in his first appointment in the American navy. Congress granted him 12,000 livres as a compensation for services he had performed, and ordered that he should be paid by Dr. F. in France; but for some reason which is or ought to be known, he has never received that sum. Much the greater part of his wages as commander of the Alliance remains unpaid. A large sum due to him for prize-money is stopped in the hands of some person or persons in France; which indeed is too common a complaint

among those continental officers and seamen who have carried prizes into ports in Europe. He made a journey to Philadelphia to obtain a settlement of his accounts, and was offered by Mr. M. three months' pay, and a certificate for the balance, which he would not accept, because he really wanted the whole of his wages to supply him with the necessaries of life. I am sure that your own feelings of justice and humanity will plead an excuse for my troubling you with this detail. Perhaps his court-martial, by whose decree he was broken, were too severe. If his conduct in his last passage from France was blameable, was not his mind to the greatest degree irritated by the treatment he met with there? and should not reasonable allowances have been made? He thinks it was an unrighteous decree. He may judge partially; I know nothing of the matter. If it was, is not the wound given to his honour sufficiently severe? But even if it was just, should not a discarded officer be immediately paid? Should not congress demand the reason why the prize-money has not been paid to those to whom it has been long due? Complaints of this kind have to my knowledge spread from Philadelphia to Boston. I am concerned for the honour of congress. These complaints may appear of little consequence; but I am afraid if they continue unattended to, they will cast a dark shade over the public character. The state of Landais' affairs will appear in his own memorial to congress, which was rejected, and perhaps may be on the files. You will oblige me if you will interest yourself (if leisure will admit of it) as far as you may think just, in his favour.

I have been applied to by some of the inhabitants of the island of Nantucket, and have promised them to write to my friend respecting the whale fishery. These people have been usually employed in that

branch of business chiefly. They have greatly reduced the number of their vessels, since the commencement of the war, by which means they say they are reduced to great distress and wish for some indulgence from congress. Whether this can be consistently granted, and in what manner, you will judge. The delegates of this state, I believe, can inform you more particularly of this matter. You are sensible of the absolute dependence of this state upon the fishery for its trade, and how great an advantage will accrue from it to the United States, if they intend ever to have a navy. I hope our peacemakers are instructed by all means to secure a common right in it.

My respects to the Hon. Mr. Izard, if at Philadelphia, and other friends. Adieu, and believe me very affectionately yours,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Hon. Arthur Lee."

"BOSTON, April 22nd, 1773.

Sir,—It is sometime since I had the pleasure of any of your favours; I embrace this opportunity to transmit you a number of pamphlets containing the governor's speeches, and answers of both houses to the same, upon the supreme authority of parliament. The two houses were forced into this dispute, and could not avoid it, without tacitly giving in to sentiments and opinions that they held to be erroneous and false. If this is a question that the ministry would have preferred not to agitate at this time, they must clear the house of any blame. However if any high measures should be taken with respect to this province, in consequence of it, it ought well to be considered that it is a question that nearly and equally affects all the colonies, and what is done by way of punishment to any particular colony, will be

considered as if done to all, and consequently will, it is probable be resented by all ; and will as firmly unite us in measures to obtain redress, as any one thing I can well conceive of. The house of burgesses of the government of Virginia, as you will find by the enclosed paper, have upon this occasion passed a number of resolves, appointing a standing committee of correspondence and enquiry, to correspond and communicate with their sister colonies in America, respecting the acts and resolutions of the British parliament ; and have directed their speaker to transmit them to the speakers of the different assemblies through the continent, and request them to appoint similar committees. There is no doubt that most of the colonies if not all, will come into the like resolutions ; and some imagine if the colonies are not soon relieved, a congress will grow out of this measure. The question that the governor has lately started and been so open and explicit upon, has arrested the attention of the whole continent ; we are continually receiving letters from some principal gentlemen in the other governments, highly approbating the answers of both houses, so that we have the happiness to find that we are not alone in our sentiments upon this important subject.

I remain with respect your most humble servant,
THOMAS CUSHING.

Arthur Lee, Esq.

P. S.—I write in confidence, and should not choose to have my name mentioned with respect to what I have now written.

Yours,

T. CUSHING."

"BOSTON, Sept. 20th, 1773.

Sir,—The latter end of June last I wrote you that the house of representatives had directed Dr. Franklin to employ you as council in support of their petition to the king for the removal of the governor and lieutenant governor,

THOMAS CUSHING."

"PROVINCE MASSACHUSETTS BAY, June 25th, 1773.

Sir,—I have received the commands of the house of representatives of this province to inform you that they have lately had divers letters signed Thomas Hutchinson, And. Oliver, &c. laid before them, and that they have voted as their sense, that the tendency and design of said letters appear to have been to overthrow the constitution of this government and to introduce arbitrary power into this province. They have also agreed upon and passed an address to his majesty, praying that his excellency Thomas Hutchinson, governor, and the Hon. Andrew Oliver, lieutenant governor of this province, may be removed from the posts they hold within this government, which they have directed Dr. Franklin to lay before his majesty ; and have also directed him to employ you as counsel upon this occasion, and as the persons afore-mentioned have by this their conduct rendered themselves very obnoxious to the people and have entirely lost their confidence, they doubt not you will employ your interest and influence to support the petition above-mentioned, and do all in your power that it may have the desired effects.

I am with great respect your humble servant,
THOMAS CUSHING, Speaker.

Arthur Lee, Esq.

P. S.—Enclosed you have a news-paper, containing the house's resolves on your letter above referred to."

"BOSTON, Sept, 20th, 1773.

Sir,—The latter end of June last I wrote you that the house of representatives had directed Franklin to employ you as their counsel in support of their petition to the king, for the removal of the governor and lieutenant governor, since which I have received your favour of the 10th June. I observe the governor by reviving the late dispute, has lost credit on your side of the water, as well as on ours. The ministry, I understand, are greatly chagrined at his officiousness, their intention having been to let all controversy subside, and by degrees to suffer things to return to their old channels. This dispute, though it may in some measure retard the redress of our grievances, has upon the whole been of advantage to America. We have gained ground by it. However, I entirely agree with you in sentiment, that it is not worth our while to press this matter too far at this time. You possibly observe that the government at home are daily growing weaker, while we in America are continually growing stronger. Our natural increase in wealth and population will in a course of years effectually settle this dispute in our favour; whereas, if we persist in strenuously denying the right of parliament to legislate for us in any case whatever, and insist upon their yielding up this right, they may think us very extravagant in our demands, and hence there will be great danger of bringing on a rupture fatal to both countries; whereas, if these high points about the supreme authority of parliament, were to fall asleep, and administration would desist from the exercise of this right, and the present system of Ame-

rican laws and regulations adopted on the idea of raising a revenue in America, were abolished, I should think Great Britain would regain the affection of the people of America, retrieve her commerce, and recall that confidence in her wisdom and justice, which is so necessary for the mutual interests of both countries. I cannot agree with — in the sentiment that Lord Dartmouth is the kind of man that will never do any good. I have lately been favoured with a letter from his lordship. His sentiments are truly noble and generous. They well comport with his high station, and fully justify that confidence which his majesty's subjects in America repose in his wisdom and justice. He seems disposed and desirous of having union and harmony between both countries restored upon a fair, candid, and equitable footing. At the same time I am fully of opinion that it is to ourselves we ought to trust, and not to the persons who may be in power on your side the water, and I hope we shall always act with prudence and firmness.

Notwithstanding it may have been represented to his majesty that the doctrines contained in the house's answer to the governor's speech, were to be imputed to a few men of artifice who mislead it, administration ought to know the men who made and passed those answers, are not men of *artifice*, but as Lord Coke says of the ancient commons, they were '*grave and sad men*,' and men of property; that they and the present house were and are willing that these points should fall asleep; but when the governor put them in such a situation that either they must speak out or by their silence concede and give up their rights, they judged and will always judge it their duty, respectfully and modestly, yet plainly to assert them. This province will not be judged by pensioned judges, and look upon it an intolerable grievance and infraction of our charter to have an independent governor.

Please enquire how this matter stands with respect to our judges. Some time ago it seems the king in council passed an order for their being allowed certain salaries, but it was uncertain then and is now whether ever the warrants for their payment were issued. I believe this matter was suspended upon Lord Dartmouth's appointment.

Please enquire and let me know by the first opportunity how this matter is situated; whether warrants are likely to issue for their payment.

In great haste I conclude, with respect your most humble servant,

THOMAS CUSHING."

" BOSTON, Oct. 28th, 1773.

Sir,—Since my last I have not been favoured with any of yours. Dr. Franklin writes me he thinks of leaving England very soon; and informs me that some time before his departure he shall put the province papers in your hands, where I doubt not they will be advantageously placed for the province. He speaks very handsomely of Dr. Lee, from whence I conclude there is a good understanding between you and the Dr., which gives me great pleasure.

He has discovered himself to be an able, disinterested defender of the rights of the Americans; and I believe has been sincerely attached to the interests and prosperity of the province.

I now transmit you a journal of the house of representatives of the last sessions, as also a sermon preached before the general assembly by a Mr. Turner the last May, of which I crave your acceptance.

The parliament it seems at their last session did nothing for the relief of America. I hope the ad-

ministration will advise to it the next session. A war it is apprehended is near at hand. Our aids will then be wanted, consequently our friendship will be wanted, and our claims attended to. It is against this event, as you very justly observe, we should be prepared ; that the opportunity of vindicating our rights may not pass away unimproved. But I am not without my fears that when this crisis arrives, the colonies, considering how differently they are constituted, will widely differ about their rights. It would be well, if whenever requisitions are made for men and money, they could all agree upon one and the same answer, and on insisting upon the same rights. Some have thought that if the several assemblies through the continent should firmly agree with each other not to grant any aids to the crown in a general war, until the whole system of American laws and regulations adopted upon the idea of raising a revenue in America, is abolished, it would fully answer the purpose of the colonies, and would be doing as much as it could rationally be expected they would unite in, and would be demanding as much as could rationally be expected Great Britain would at present grant. They further agree that if the administration could once be brought to renounce and desist from the present system, which has occasioned so much trouble to both countries, they would never attempt its resumption. Others have thought that the colonies ought to go further, and not to grant any aids until the declaratory act, passed immediately after the stamp act, was repealed, and Great Britain agree that she has not a right to make laws to bind America in any case whatever. But these terms it is thought by many would not be insisted upon by *all* the colonies, if *by any*; and if they should, it is pretty certain they would never be complied with by Great Britain, but would rather be considered as a plain indication that the colonies

were not disposed to come to any settlement with Great Britain, but chose to be entirely independent of her, and that there would be great danger of a fatal rupture, and of prematurely bringing on a contest, to which, if the Americans were not found equal, that authority thus disputed, would by the event be more strongly established ; and if they should prove superior, yet by the division, the general strength of the British nation would be greatly diminished ; whereas the daily increasing strength in wealth and numbers, and the growing importance of America to Great Britain would in a little time secure us all we want, in peace and safety to both countries.

I should be glad of your free and candid sentiments on these subjects. You are on the spot, and can get acquainted with the prejudices, opinions, and sentiments of those, who it is probable will be the principal hands in settling the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies ; and therefore must be best able to judge what terms it will be best and most expedient for the Americans to propose, and insist upon ; what it is most likely they will obtain ; and what it is most probable Great Britain will concede. A connexion between Great Britain and the colonies is what every good man must ardently wish may be obtained and preserved ; but then it ought to be upon just and equitable terms.

I conclude, with great respect, your obedient servant,

THOMAS CUSHING."

LETTERS OF JOHN ADAMS.

"BREST, March 24th, 1779.

Dear Sir,—I have this moment the honour of yours of the 18th. I am perfectly of your opinion, that we have yet a hard battle to fight. The struggle will yet be long and painful; and the difficulty of it will arise from nothing more than the weak disposition in our countrymen, as well as our allies, to think it will be short. Long before this war began I expected a severe trial; but I never foresaw so much embarrassment from selfishness, vanity, and corruption, as I find. If these proceed much longer in their career, it will not be worth the while of men of virtue to make themselves miserable by continuing in the service. If they leave it, the American system of flattery and corruption will still prevail over the British. But there will be an end of our virtuous visions of a kingdom of the just.

I wrote Mr. Israel from Nantes. My regards to him and your brother. I am no hand at a cypher, but will endeavour to unriddle if you write in it.

With much esteem, your humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

Hon. A. Lee."

"PARIS, May 25th, 1780.

Dear Sir,—Your kind favour of April 12th is yet unanswered. With nothing at all to do, I am as busy as ever I was in my life. Whether any good will result from it, time must discover. I have undertaken to inform congress a little more particularly than they are wont to be informed, of some things that have passed in Europe which may ultimately affect them; but I find it is in vain to put my eyes out by writing,

for when letters are written we can't get them across the water. I have however sworn, and I will perform, if it is possible to get letters to them by the way of Spain, or Holland, or any other way; let the expense be what it will, they shall go.

I have a very good opinion of Count Sarsfeld, and have the honour to see him sometimes, though not so often as I wish. Too many unsuitable characters it is very certain have been permitted to meddle in our affairs; but when or how it will be remedied, God only knows. In a country where every thing goes and is done by protection, and where the motives of government are the direct opposites of ours, I see no prospect of having it otherwise, let who will be in or out.

As to jobs, I never had and never will have any thing to do in any, let the consequence to me and my family be what it will. The trusts with which you and I have been honoured by our country, are too sacred to be tarnished by the little selfish intrigues, in which the little insects about a court are eternally buzzing. If I had neither a sense of duty, nor the pride of virtue, nor any other pride, if I had no higher principle or quality than vanity, it would mortify this, in an extreme degree, to sully and debase so pure a cause by any such practices.

On the characters you mention I shall never descend to bestow my confidence, nor my resentment, nor contempt. They have ever been treated by me, and ever will be, with justice and civility, but they will never be my friends.

I have received a letter by the way of _____ for you, which I do myself the honour to enclose.

I was in hopes you would have been at congress before now. Your situation must be disagreeable, but I know by experience it can be borne. Pray how do you relish Clinton's letter? I think the policy of

France and Spain is pointed out by it in sun-beams. I hope they will profit by it. They seemed to be convinced of it before the letter arrived. They have now the testimony of our enemy to the truth and justice of what you and I had the honour to represent to them, in conjunction with our colleague, last January was twelve months.

I am, with much esteem, &c., yours,

JOHN ADAMS.

Hon. A. Lee."

"THE HAGUE, Aug. 29, 1782.

Dear Sir,—I have a great mind to envy your situation, or to wish myself with you in congress, where I should have less anxiety, and more health, if not an opportunity to do more good.

The mynheers have overcome most of their terrors, and are now well fixed in the good system. They will hearken to no separate proposals, and therefore will make an important diversion in our favour, although they should not succeed in their endeavours to excite the court to more strenuous exertions.

We have succeeded to obtain a small loan. There is nearly a million and a half of guilders obtained, to be paid upon the receipt of the ratification of the contract.

The deputies of the provinces have generally received their instructions concerning the treaty of commerce, and I am daily in conference upon the subject. It is slow work, but in time it will be finished to mutual satisfaction, as I believe.

Fitzherbert's powers are to treat with France, the States General, and the ministers of all other *principum et statuum quorum interesse poterit.*

Mr. Brantzon's powers are to treat in concert with

France, and all the other powers at war with England, but to agree to no peace or truce but in concurrence with them.

I don't like very well the idea of our conferences before a British minister had powers to treat with the ministers of the United States in so many words; and think that if we had refused to treat till that time, Shelburne would have been forced to come into Fox's plan. Possibly however they may agree upon preliminaries, but I have not very sanguine hopes of it.

I should be very glad to hear from you as often as your important engagements will permit. Meantime I have the honour to be, with great esteem, your most obedient,

JOHN ADAMS.

Mr. Lee."

"THE HAGUE, Oct. 10th, 1782.

Dear Sir,—I had the honour of yours of August 7th yesterday. The letters enclosed are sent to their destinations.

I have long since taken such measures as depended on me, and shall continue to do all that decency will permit, to induce the states to send ministers to congress. I am convinced it will not be done before the next spring. To give you a complete detail of the reasons of this, would be a tedious labour, without use. It is sufficient to say, that every thing is done against the inclination of the court, and they cannot agree upon the man to send. All the patriots fix upon Vander Capellan de Poll, or Van Berchel, who is the fittest; but both are obnoxious to the court, who are disposed to delay and retard every thing which tends to cement the two republics.

It is not an easy thing to ascertain with precision

the true boundary between independence and uncomplaisance; but in this I feel in myself, and I see in every body else, quite as much disposition to be uncomplaisant, as is reconcilable with independence ; it is however of more importance to be one, than the other. It gives me infinite pleasure to learn, that Mr. Jay is of this sentiment. Mr. Dana's sentiments may be learnt from an extract of a letter from him to me of the 16th Sept. He says:—‘In my letter of the 30th August I told you I was no longer at liberty to pursue a course like that you pointed out to me in yours of the 7th of the said month; that my late instructions were clear and decided, and that I was glad of it ; for had the matter been left to my discretion, I should have taken a course not wholly unlike that you mention to me. I had prepared every thing for the decisive step, and should have taken it against the opinion of, you know whom ; because my sentiments fully coincide with yours, so far as they respect the dignity of the United States ; which I have all along thought would suffer nothing from an open and firm policy, and that their views and interests would be promoted and established much earlier by means of it. I venture to assert, that had you hearkened to the advice that was given you when I was in Holland, not one of the United Provinces would at this time have acknowledged our independence ; nay more, the minor party would have been the prevailing one, and in all probability affairs would have worn a different countenance in Europe, and we should have seen, through the aid of mediation, &c., a separate peace concluded between Great Britain and Holland. I am sensible, as I told you before, of the difference of our situations; yet this difference does not in my opinion necessarily require a system absolutely the reverse. The same engines indeed cannot be set at work here.’

The instruction that you say subjects us to the French ministry, has never been communicated to me. I cannot believe that any such has been given. I suspect you put too strong a construction on it. Congress would have a very modest unconsciousness of their own abilities, to subject themselves or their ministers to any body. There is not in my opinion a body of men in Europe more enlightened than congress, nor a minister in Europe superior to three of theirs, viz:—Mr. Jay, Mr. Laurens, and Mr. Dana; at least I have not yet had the honour of finding him out, if there is such a minister. The abilities of ministers which produce events, do not consist in dress, horses, balls, nor cards.

I was never in my life clearer in any opinion than I am in this, that it would serve our cause for Mr. Dana to communicate his mission to the minister of the empress of Russia, and to the ministers of the several courts of neutral powers at Petersburg. I think he would not be refused. The matter would be taken into consideration, and might be long delayed. But if he were refused, it would be upon the principle of neutrality; and even this refusal would be infinitely less hurtful to our reputation, than to have a minister in Europe with a commission in his pocket, and prohibited to make use of it. It is now known that he has such a commission, as much as if he communicated it, which he might do in confidence. It is not consistent in congress, as I humbly apprehend, to send ministers to Europe, and then tie their hands, subjecting them to the French ministry. I say it freely, chaining them hand and foot. These chains I will never wear; they would be so galling to me, that I could never bear them. I will never however be wanting in civility or complaisance to those ministers knowingly.

I shall ever esteem it an honour and a happiness, to

receive the news and the politics of the times from you. Give me leave to assure you, that I have the honour of being your friend and humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

Hon. Arthur Lee."

" PARIS, April 12th, 1783.

Dear Sir,—We have had a very dull pause since the peace ; no news from America, and a stagnation in England, which has left us in a painful state of uncertainty. Now indeed the ministry are arranged for a little while, and Mr. Hartley is expected over to finish the negotiation. You know him, he is talkative and disputatious, and not always intelligible ; so that I expect we shall be longer about the business than is necessary.

I am not able to conceive how a ministry composed of parts so heterogeneous, can go on with business. It cannot be expected to be solid and durable. Mr. Fox professes to mean to finish soon and liberally, but I know not what opposition and contradiction he may meet in the cabinet. I confess I don't like the change at all. Shelburne and his set would have gone through well. Mr. Laurens, who is in London, seems pleased with the change ; at least he was with the prospect a few days before it took place ; and he seems to think the tories are not so much regarded as we feared. Shelburne did the best thing of his whole life when he made peace, and the vote against him does no honour to his opponents. The peace is really much better for England than she had a right to expect ; and the continuance of the war would have been ruin. This the present set are sensible of ; but truth is a small sacrifice to faction. The vote of dissatisfaction with the peace is a disagreeable event,

and one knows not what effect it may have. I don't believe it could ever have been carried, if a treaty of commerce had been signed on the 30th Nov. Why the commission for making such a treaty was revoked without issuing another, you must ask Mr. Marbois. I know not. I think however you cannot too soon send a minister to London, to arrange finally a system of commerce, and to watch over all your interests in that country. French politics are now incessantly at work in England, and we may depend upon it, they labour less for our good than their own. If our interests were the same with theirs, we might better trust them; yet not entirely, for they do not understand their own interests so well as we do ours. Congress will never adopt a right system of foreign affairs, until they consider their interests as distinct, and keep them separate from those of all other nations. One essential part of the business and duty of their ministers is, to watch French politicians as well as English, to co-operate with them where they coincide with our system, and to counteract them where they interfere with it. Albeit this has ever been my opinion; it was so when I was in congress in 1775, 1776, and 1777, and every day's experience in Europe, in every country, in every department, has afforded something in confirmation of it. I have acted in conformity to it at every risk; and considering the furious wrath it has occasioned, and the violent efforts to demolish me, with wonderful success. But the success would have been much more complete, if congress had adhered to the system as steadily as I did.

With great esteem and respect sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

"THE HAGUE, April 6th, 1784.

Dear Sir,—Your favour of the 14th January was brought me yesterday. I have been obliged to come here in order to raise money for the payment of bills to a large amount, which Mr. Morris drew at a venture, and have at length succeeded, but it is so lately that I have not yet joined my colleagues in Paris, and I am undetermined whether I shall go there before the commission you mention arrives, to treat with such nations as desire it, which are indeed all maritime nations; at present we have no power to treat. I wish a secretary of foreign affairs appointed, and that you may be the man. There is no man in America, so well acquainted with our foreign affairs, and surely they require a man of some experience. Mr. Jay merits every thing you meditate for him, and his country merits to have him placed where his abilities and fortitude may be a barrier to her whenever she is in danger.

The new order of chivalry has given me many a melancholy hour. It is a deep design to overturn the whole edifice of our republican liberty, but as I know the officers do not mean this, and were not aware of it, I hope they will lay it voluntarily aside; if they do not, knights will make barons, earls, viscounts, marquises, and dukes; and these, princes and kings in a very short time. I have heretofore expressed your regards to Mr. Jay, and will do it again as you desire; they have been and will be very acceptable to him. A friend of mine in Massachusetts, in a letter some months ago, gave me a confused hint that Franklin had written to somebody, at me, or towards me, or against me, or about me; but I could make nothing of it, and did not know until I received your letter that he had written against me to congress.

What he can have said, after allowing me to be sensible and honest, as you say he does, I am curious to know. Mr. Dana's arrival in Boston is to me a most joyful event. He has been cruelly treated. No man has a clearer insight into the secret springs of our foreign affairs ; no man is more honestly attached to his country ; few men more judicious and able. But in all our foreign affairs *honos pro crimine et ob virtutes certissimum vitium.* The times for the future will be better ; but no man employed abroad will ever enjoy that sweet security which you have in perfection in America. Let me say one word in favour of Sir James Idy, to whom as a physician I am under obligations for his kind, faithful, and able assistance in a violent fever, which the putrid streets of Paris, added to a long journey in very hot weather, and too close an application to writing, brought upon me last fall. I have every reason to think that he has been a faithful American throughout, and not the smallest reason to suspect him. I say this because I am informed he has been suspected by the *** of the state *** of New-York. You will oblige me by writing as often as you can ; I have suffered much for want of intelligence from congress. It is a long time since we received any of the journals. The arts, which have been practised to embroil American ministers, secretaries, &c. have been more black, more wicked, and more deep *** since you left Europe, than I ever knew them while you were here. The vilest *** have been employed to write anonymous letters containing the wickedest lies. Spies have been set ; the most private conversations betrayed and misrepresented, in short we have all been in an inquisition. All have not had sufficient caution and sagacity to avoid the snares. It was never a pleasant service.

But all these attempts have failed of their final object."

JOHN ADAMS."

"AUTEUIL, near Paris, Jan. 31, 1785.

Dear Sir,—I have received your favour of the 12th of August from New-York, and by the Marquis de la Fayette, who visited me last night, I have the pleasure to learn that you have finished your negotiations with the Indians, to the satisfaction and advantage of the public. I learn too with great pleasure that your brother has accepted a seat in congress and in the chair; permit me to congratulate you upon both events. I am apprehensive that the Indian trade will suffer, the posts upon the frontiers be withheld from us, and every interest we have in dispute with the English will suffer from the unalterable resolution of congress not to send a minister to London. The British court will never treat with us here, and every American who expects it deceives himself. I am not well enough acquainted with the history of the late financier to know whether I agree with you in opinion of him or not. Has he settled or produced his accounts of the commercial committee or not? Has he produced his accounts of his administration of financier? I cannot guess the reason why he should be so attached to the French and Franklinian interest as you think he is. He certainly has received little or no aid from either. The bills he drew upon Mr. Grand would have gone back protested, if I had not procured the money to pay them. More than six hundred thousand pounds sterling have I furnished him, in the most profitable manner possible, not in soldiers' clothes, or arms, but in dollars from the Hava-nnah, and in cash received at Philadelphia for bills

of exchange sold at a handsome profit, and another hundred thousand pounds is ready for him, if he has not already drawn for it, as it is probable he has. In short his whole operations for two years past have been supported by me, and nothing at all has been done towards it by French or Franklin. I am happy to learn that Mr. Jay will probably accept the foreign affairs, which he understands well and can conduct wisely. My new partner is an old friend and coadjutor, whose character I studied nine or ten years ago, and which I do not perceive to be altered; the same industry, integrity, and talents remain without diminution. I am very happy in him. But whether we shall be able to accomplish any thing here I know not, any thing I mean which may make it worth while to keep us together. But if congress order us to separate, there will be the same good understanding and correspondence between us.

I shall be happy to hear from you as you have leisure. Your friend and humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

Hon. Arthur Lee, Esq."

"GROSVENOR SQUARE, WESTMINSTER, Sept. 6, 1785.

Dear Sir,—I received yesterday your favour of the 27th of July, and wish it were in my power to relieve your anxiety by giving you any comfortable hopes from this country. The national sense and public voice is decidedly against us in the whale trade and ship trade, and there are as yet but feeble parties for us in the West India trade and colony trade. I may say to you that if Ireland had not escaped from the snare we should have had a very dull prospect. I see no resource for us but in a navigation act, and this will not relieve us soon. Our merchants have en-

slaved themselves to this country by the debts they have contracted. They are afraid to explore new channels of commerce, lest they should offend the British merchants, and be sued. But there is no choice left us. Our country must not be ruined in tenderness to those who have run imprudently too far into debt. As far as I can penetrate the hearts of the ministers, they are very far from being as they should be relative to us. Those of them who have acquired immense popularity, reputation, and influence by former professions of attachment to the American cause, as Cambden and Richmond, are much changed ; in short we have no party with us here. Yet indeed there is no party at present that dares declare very explicitly against us. All sides are as silent and mysterious as you can conceive them to be, and when I shall get any answer I cannot guess ; but I can confidently guess that when it does come it will not be what it must finally be, in order to relieve us, and bring the two countries together in good humour. Ireland I think stands between us and evil. Her indocility may have changed the plans of the cabinet in many particulars. In short I do not believe there is any fixed plan, or will be any until the next budget shall be opened. The debt stands between Ireland and harm. This country is in a more critical situation than ours ; yet it may take two years to decide its fate. Many persons express anxious fears of distractions and anarchy ; others think they cannot stand under the burthen of the debt, but must lower the interest. The policy of our country is not perfect neither. The most fatal and egregious fault of all is leaving their debt in Holland and France unfunded. This error is so easily rectified that it is astonishing it is not done. This single step may protect us from a war, and confute forever the numberless calumnies which circulate now, and will never cease until that

is done. . I have hitherto paid the interest in Holland out of the principal ; but this will be by and by impracticable, and then such a clamour and obloquy will succeed as will make us all ashamed of ourselves. How will it be possible to vindicate the faith or the honour of our country ?

You gave me great pleasure by your approbation of my son's conduct, and I am under great obligations to your brother for the notice he took of him. Count Sarsefeld, who has just now left me, is rejoiced at your appointment to the treasury, and desires me to present his regards to you. He leads the life of a peripatetic philosopher here, has done so since May, and will stay till October. He rambles with Lord Shelburne and Lord Harcourt, and is the happiest man I know. I have seen him two summers in Holland. Observation and reflection are all his business, and his dinner and his friend, all his pleasure. If a man was born for himself alone, I should take him for a model.

I am dear sir with great esteem your friend and servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

Hon. Arthur Lee."

"THE HAGUE, Sept. 4th, 1785.

Sir,—A few days before leaving Paris I had the honour to receive your letter. Since that I have passed through London on my way to this place. The cause of my coming has been communicated to you some time ago, and I have nothing to say on that subject. Learning that a vessel is about to sail from Amsterdam for New-York in a few days, I profit of that occasion to send you a little of the reigning politics of this quarter of the globe. Three objects at

present occupy the minds of all here. I say all, because every one is deeply interested, and takes an active part in one or the other of the three. The first is the affair of the Scheld, which is now negotiating, and in very fair train at Paris. I have here the most unquestionable information sir, that the matter will be accommodated in a very few days, and that an ultimate treaty with France will immediately follow ; perhaps the last hand is this last moment putting to it. The conditions of this accommodation with the emperor cannot be known ; yet there is no doubt I believe that the Scheld will not be opened in its greatest latitude, and in the manner the emperor wished it. It was to be wished for America, (I think) that he had succeeded. We should have been able then to have quoted this example when we come to claim as we shall do, the free use of the Mississippi. The best claim however in these cases is that of force ; and this we shall probably have on our side.

The second object consists in the internal commotions of these provinces, occasioned by the two parties, of patriots and *****. The design of the former is to clip what they think the unconstitutional exuberances of the princes' power, of the latter to oppose them in every instance. The former are composed of the middle rank of citizens, the latter of the higher and lower classes. The patriots are at present the unquestionably predominant party, consisting however of a great variety of powers and characters opposed in principle and interest ; their operations are slow, yet they form at present a powerful column that must be irresistible, if it can be kept firm and unbroken. They have lately succeeded in abolishing the high council of war, and commissioners who are to enquire into the illegal growth of prerogative seem to promise a finishing stroke to overgrown power.

Yet history has furnished us with so many instances of the difficulty of wresting power from hands which have once possessed it, that we might be inclined to doubt the success of the patriotic party, as they are termed, if every day did not give some proof of their decided determination to persevere. At the head of them is Mr. Van Berkel, the brother of the minister in America ; he is aided by the pensionary of Dort, a gentleman of shining talents, and though young, of the most promising expectations. The most penetrating of the party consider themselves as indebted to the American war for opening their eyes and rousing them from a lethargy into which they had fallen. A spirit of opposition has pervaded this middle rank of citizens ; volunteer corps are formed and disciplining. You observe their children even going through the exercise in playing about the streets, and every thing among them makes us recollect the year 1775 in America. This party views America with a venerating partiality, and so much attached are they to our opposition that they seem fond of imitating us wherever they can, and of drawing parallels between the similar circumstances in the two countries. Not long ago an officer of one of the patriotic corps lost the spirit of opposition, and went over to the opposite interest ; he was immediately branded with the opprobrious name of the *American Arnold*.

The Hague itself is not free from the violence of this party rage. The flame seems fanned here with additional force by foreign aid. It being the seat of all the foreign ministers, and they are forming a body which bears a considerable proportion to the town itself, their influence seems to be felt on the modes of thinking here. Thus they appear ranged in opposite columns, and unite with this or that party as the interest of their court dictates. In this point of view the delightful seat of the prince and their high

mightinesses here, which seems formed for pleasure and agreeable society, is turned into a kind of political field of battle, where the foreign troops are headed on one side by the French, and on the other by the English ambassador. Yet very much for the honour of these two gentlemen, notwithstanding they are thus necessarily opposed and forced to be active against each other, they preserve the warmest personal friendship. This was cultivated during their residence at Petersburgh, and seems to have lost nothing of its sincerity by being translated to the Hague. It is really a pleasing sight, as it does honour to these politicians to see the Marquis de Verce and Sir James Harris assembling at each other's houses, in the appearance of the greatest intimacy, on the evening of the same mornings that they have been exerting all their talents and putting every engine of intrigue in motion to destroy the plans of each other.

It will be of great importance to America that the minister she is about to have here should know how to *** a perfect neutrality between these violent parties foreign and domestic; and from the character alone of the gentleman lately appointed we have every reason to hope it will be done.

I think it requires little foresight to see that if America is represented with prudence and circumspection for a few years in the different courts of Europe, she will necessarily have thrown into her hands such a balancing power as will enable her to secure very great advantage for herself in a variety of commercial objects; and these alone seem to be worthy of her attention.

I have said so much to you already, that I fear to add more on the third head of which I spoke above, than to say it is what is called the _____ signed on the 23d of last month by the king of Prussia, the

elector of Saxony, and the elector of Brunswick and Lunenburg. This has been explained to their high mightinesses a few days ago by a declaration of the king of Prussia.

I have the honour to be with great esteem your most obedient and humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

Hon. Arthur Lee, Esq."

"BRAINTREE, July 18, 1788.

Dear Sir,—I am much obliged to you for your kind congratulations on my arrival, and Mrs. Adams returns you her compliments and thanks.

The accession of Virginia to the new constitution is a great event. You and I should not materially differ, I fancy, if we were to compare notes of a perfect commonwealth. But I consider the present project, as a commencement of a national government, to be a valuable acquisition. What would Aristotle and Plato have said if any one had talked to them of a federative republic of thirteen states, inhabiting a country of five hundred leagues in extent?

The new government must act with caution and make itself felt by its beneficence, or we shall have a new convention for amendments. It is a severe mortification to me to find so many of my old friends in opposition. But this should not surprise me, as I have always differed very materially from them in opinion, on the best plan of government.

I am dear sir with great esteem your most obedient servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

The Hon. Arthur Lee, Esq."

"PASSTY, Oct. 10, 1778.

Dear Sir,—I have sometimes complained that having no place suited for the public papers, nor any person to keep them in order, was a great inconvenience and interruption to the public business; I had wished to have the papers in my chamber, as they are in disorder, and several going to them at pleasure, taking out some and removing others, was as making me in a sort responsible for the order which I could not preserve, and for papers themselves, which I could not secure. Besides that it occasioned continual applications to me alone, and necessitated me to spend a great part of my time writing orders, notes, copies of letters, passports, and twenty other things, which ought at all times to be written by our clerks; at least as long as it is thought necessary to put the public to the expense of keeping so many. I have not asked Dr. Franklin's opinion concerning your proposal of a room in your house for the papers, and an hour to meet there, because I know it would be in vain; for I think it must appear to him more unequal still. It cannot be expected that two should go to one, when it is as easy again for one to go to two; not to mention Dr. Franklin's age, his rank in the country or his character in the world; nor that nine tenths of the public letters are constantly brought to this house, and will ever be carried where Dr. Franklin is. I will venture to make a proposition in my turn, in which I am very sincere; it is that you would join families with us. There is room enough in this house to accommodate us all. You shall take the apartments which belong to me at present, and I will content myself with the library room and the next to it. Appoint a room for business, any that you please, mine or another, a person to keep the

papers, and certain hours to do business. This arrangement will save a large sum of money to the public, and as it would give us a thousand opportunities of conversing together, which now we have not, and by having but one place for our countrymen and others to go to, who have occasion to visit us, would greatly facilitate the public business. It would remove the reproach we lie under, of which I confess myself very much ashamed, of not being able to agree together, and would make the commission more respectable, if not in itself, yet in the estimation of the English, the French, and the American nations; and I am sure if we judge by the letters we receive, it wants to be made more respectable, at least in the eyes of many persons of this country. If it is any objection to this, that we live here at no rent, I will agree with you in fixing the rent or leave the house. As I suppose the proposal I made of appointing Mr. W. F. Franklin to take care of the papers, occasioned your letter of the 6th instant, I cannot conclude this answer to it, without repeating that proposal. This appointment can be but temporary, as a secretary will probably arrive from congress ere long. But in the mean time Mr. Franklin, who keeps papers in good order, and writes very well, may be of more service to us than he is at present. We will then have a right to call upon him to do business, and we shall know what situation he is in, and what reward he is to have. I agree perfectly with you that an hour should be fixed for business, and I beg leave to propose nine o'clock in the morning; to which hour, and from thence to any other hour in the day you please, I will endeavour to be punctual. If you have any objection to this hour, you will be so good as to name another.

I am dear sir, with an earnest desire and settled determination to cultivate an harmony, nay more a

friendship, with both my colleagues, as far as I can consistently with the public service, and with great respect and esteem, your friend and colleague,

JOHN ADAMS.

The Hon. Arthur Lee."

LETTERS FROM GENERAL WARREN.

" BOSTON, Dec. 21st, 1773.

Sir,—My respected friend, Mr. Adams, informs me of the honour he has done me by mentioning my name to you in his letters. I can by no means lose so fair an opportunity of opening a correspondence with one to whom America is under such great obligations. Be assured sir, we are not insensible to your merits. The clear manner in which you have treated the dispute between Great Britain and this country, has we doubt not enlightened many in the parent state, as well as in this country. But nothing seems able to penetrate the Egyptian darkness, which is so palpable in the court atmosphere. We have long waited for something wise and good in the public counsels of the nation; at least we hoped that chance would lead to some measures, which if not so designed, might eventually have produced some agreeable effects. But hitherto the unpropitious star which rules unhappy Britain, has disappointed our wishes; every step taken by the administration has increased the distance between her and the colonies; and I fear that unless a speedy alteration is made in the system of American policy, a few years will render us as indifferent to the interest of the mother-country, as to that of any other state in Europe. However, as it is my firm opinion that a connexion upon constitutional principles may be kept up between the two countries,

at least for centuries to come, advantageous and honourable to both, I always respect the man who endeavours to heal the wound, by pointing out proper remedies, and to prevent the repetition of the stroke, by fixing a stigma on the instrument by which it was inflicted. This country is inhabited by a people loyal to their king, and faithful to themselves; none will more cheerfully venture their lives and fortunes for the honour and defence of the prince who reigns in their hearts, and none will with more resolution oppose the tyrant who dares to invade their rights. From this short but true character of this people, it is easy to see in what manner a wise king or a sagacious minister would treat them. But —!

Mr. Adams will give you a full account of the tea shipped by the East India company for this place. It is now in the power of that company to make the use of Dutch tea as unpopular in this country as they can desire. They may easily, by a proper application to an all powerful ministry, lay the colonies under such obligations, as would be greatly to the company's advantage. But it is certain that the whole navy of Britain will not prevent the introduction of Dutch tea, nor will her armies prevail with us to use the English tea, while the act imposing a duty on that article remains unrepealed. I congratulate you on the honour conferred on your brother by the city of London; in distinguishing merit, they honour themselves.

This will be presented to you by Dr. Williamson, who has laboured abundantly in the glorious cause in which we are engaged. I hope soon to be convinced that the freedom I have taken in writing to you is not disagreeable,

I am sir, with great esteem, your most obedient humble servant,

Jos. WARREN."

"Boston, Feb. 20th, 1775.

Dear Sir,—My friend, Mr. Adams, favoured me with the sight of your last letter. I am sincerely glad of your return to England, as I think your assistance was never more wanted there than at present. It is truly astonishing that the administration should have a doubt of the resolution of the Americans to make the last appeal, rather than submit to wear the yoke prepared for their necks. We have waited with a degree of patience which is seldom to be met with; but I will venture to assert that there has not been any great allay of cowardice, though both friends and enemies seem to suspect us of want of courage. I trust the event which I confess I think is near at hand, will confound our enemies, and rejoice those who wish well to us. It is time for Britain to take some serious steps towards a reconciliation with her colonies. The people here are weary of watching the measures of those who are endeavouring to enslave them; they say they have been spending their time for ten years in counteracting the plans of their adversaries, and many of them begin to think that the difference between them will never be amicably settled; but that they shall always be subject to affronts from the caprice of every British minister. They even sometimes speak of an open rupture with Great Britain, as a state preferable to the present uncertain condition of affairs. And although it is true that the people have yet a very warm affection for the British nation, yet it sensibly decays. They are loyal subjects to the king; but they conceive that they do not swerve from their allegiance by opposing any measures taken by any man or set of men to deprive them of their liberties. They conceive that they are the king's enemies who would destroy the constitution; for

the king is annihilated when the constitution is destroyed.

It is not yet too late to accommodate the dispute amicably. But I am of opinion that if once Gen. Gage should lead his troops into the country with a design to enforce the late acts of parliament, Great Britain may take her leave, at least of the New-England colonies; and if I mistake not, of all America. If there is any wisdom in the nation, God grant it may be speedily called forth. Every day, every hour, widens the breach. A Richmond, a Chatham, a Shelburne, a Cambden, with their noble associates, may yet repair it; and it is a work which none but the greatest of men can conduct. May you be successful and happy in your labours for the public safety.

I am sir, with great respect, your very humble servant,

Jos. WARREN."

" BOSTON, April 3d, 1775.

Dear Sir,—Your favour of the 21st of December came opportunely to hand, as it enabled me to give the provincial congress, now sitting at Concord, a just view of the measures pursued by the tools of the administration; and effectually to guard them against that state of security, into which many have endeavoured to lull them. If we ever obtain a redress of grievances from Great Britain, it must be by the influence of those illustrious personages, whose virtue now keeps them out of power. The king never will bring them into power, until the ignorance and phrenzy of the present administration make the throne on which he sits shake under him. If America is an humble instrument of the salvation of Britain, it will give us the sincerest joy; but if Britain must lose her

liberty, she must lose it alone. *America must and will be free.* The contest may be severe, the end will be glorious. We would not boast, but we think, united and prepared as we are, we have no reason to doubt of success, if we should be compelled to the last appeal; but we mean not to make that appeal until we can be justified in doing it in the sight of God and man. Happy shall we be if the mother-country will allow us the free enjoyment of our rights, and indulge us in the pleasing employment of aggrandizing her.

The members for the continental congress are almost all chosen by the several colonies. Indeed, if any colony should neglect to choose members, it would be ruinous to it; as all intercourse would immediately cease between that colony and the whole continent.

The first brigade of the army marched about four miles out of town three days ago, under the command of a brigadier general, (Earl Percy) but as they marched without baggage or artillery, they did not occasion so great an alarm as they otherwise would. Nevertheless great numbers, completely armed, collected in the neighbouring towns; and it is the opinion of many, that had they marched eight or ten miles, and attempted to destroy any magazines, or abuse the people, not a man of them would have returned to Boston. The congress immediately took proper measures for restraining any unnecessary effusion of blood; and also passed proper resolves respecting the army, if they should attempt to come out of town with baggage and artillery.

I beg leave to recommend to your notice Mr. Dana, the bearer hereof, (a gentleman of the law) a man of sense and probity, a true friend to his country, of a respectable family and fortune.

May heaven bless you, and reward your labours with success. I am sir, with great respect, your most obedient, humble servant,

Jos. WARREN.

To Arthur Lee, Esq. London."

"CAMBRIDGE, April 27th, 1775.

My Dear Sir,—Our friend Quincy just lived to come on shore, to die in his own country; he expired yesterday morning. His virtues rendered him dear, and his abilities useful, to his country. The wicked measures of the administration have at length brought matters to a crisis. I think it probable that this rage of the people, excited by the most clear view of the cursed designs of the administration, and the barbarous effusion of the blood of their countrymen, will lead them to attack Gen. Gage, and burn the ships in the harbour. Lord Chatham and our friends must make up the breach immediately or never. If any thing terrible takes place it will not now do to talk of calling the colonies to account for it; but it must be attributed to the true cause, the unheard of provocations given to this people.

They never will talk of accommodation until the present ministry are entirely removed. You may depend the colonies will sooner suffer depopulation than come into any measures with them.

The next news from England must be conciliatory, or the connexion between us ends, however fatal the consequences may be. Prudence may yet alleviate the misfortunes, and calm the convulsions into which the empire is thrown, by the madness of the present administration. May Almighty God direct you. If any thing is proposed which may be for the honour and safety of Great Britain and these colonies, my

utmost efforts shall not be wanting to effect a reconciliation.

I am in the utmost haste, surrounded by fifteen or twenty thousand men. Your most obedient servant,
Jos. WARREN.

To Arthur Lee, Esq. London.

P. S.—The narrative sent to Dr. Franklin contains a true state of facts; but it was difficult to make the people willing that any notice should be taken of the matter, by way of narrative, unless the army and navy were taken or driven away.

J. W."

"CAMBRIDGE, May 16, 1775.

My Dear Sir,—Every thing here continues the same, as at the period of my writing a short time ago. Our military operations go on in a very spirited manner. Gen. Gage had a reinforcement of about 600 marines the day before yesterday; but this gives very little concern *here*. It is not expected that he will sally out of Boston at present, and if he does, he will but gratify thousands who impatiently wait to avenge the blood of their murdered countrymen. The attempt he has made to throw the odium of the first commencement of hostilities on the people here, has operated very much to his disadvantage, as so many credible people were eye witnesses of the whole affair, whose testimonies are justly supposed of infinitely greater weight than any thing he has brought or can bring in support of his assertion. My private opinion is that he is really deceived in this matter, and is led (by his officers and some other of the most abandoned villains on earth, who are natives of this country, and who are now shut up with him in Bos-

ton) to believe that our people actually began the firing; but my opinion is only for myself; most people are satisfied not only that he knows that the regulars began the fire, but also that he gave his orders to the commanding officer to do it. Thus by attempting to clear the troops from what every one is sure they were guilty of, he has brought on strong suspicions that he himself is guilty of having preconcerted the mischief done by them. Indeed his very unmanly conduct, relative to the people of Boston, in detaining many of them, and contriving new excuses for delaying their removal after they had given up their fire-arms, upon a promise of being suffered to leave town and carry with them their effects, has much lessened his character and confirmed formed suspicions.

The continental congress is now sitting. I suppose before I hear from you again, a new form of government will be established in this colony. Great Britain must now make the best she can of America. The folly of her minister has brought her into this situation. If she has strength sufficient even to depopulate the colonies, she has not strength sufficient to subjugate them. However, we can yet without injuring ourselves offer much to her. The great national advantages derived from the colonies may, I hope, yet be reaped by her from us. The plan for enslaving us, if it had succeeded, would only have put it in the power of the administration to provide for a number of their unworthy dependants, whilst the nation would have been deprived of the most essential benefits which might have arisen from us by commerce; and the taxes raised in America would instead of easing the mother country of her burdens, only have been employed to bring her into bondage.

I cannot precisely tell you what will become of Gen. Gage; I imagine he will at least be kept closely shut up in Boston; perhaps you will very soon hear

something further relative to these things. One thing I can assure you has very great weight with us ; we fear if we push this matter as far as we think we are able, to the destruction of the troops and ships of war, we shall expose Great Britain to those invasions from foreign powers, which we suppose it will be difficult for her to repel.

In fact you must have a change in men and measures or be ruined. The truly noble Richmond, Rockingham, Chatham, Shelburne, with other lords, and the virtuous and sensible minority in the house of commons, must take the lead. The confidence we have in them will go a great way ; but I must tell you that those terms which would readily have been accepted before our countrymen were murdered, and we in consequence compelled to take arms, will not now do.

Every thing in my power to serve the united interest of Great Britain, shall be done ; and I pray that you, your brother, and Mr. Sayer, (to whom I beg you would make my most respectful compliments) would write fully, freely, and speedily to me, and let me know what our great and good friends in the house of commons think expedient and practicable to be done.

God forbid that the nation should be so infatuated as to do any thing further to irritate the colonies ; if they should, the colonies will sooner throw themselves into the arms of any other power on earth, than ever consent to an accommodation with Great Britain. That patience which I frequently told you would be at last exhausted, is no longer to be expected from us. Danger and war are become pleasing ; and injured virtue is now armed to avenge herself.

I am my dear sir, your most obedient servant,
Jos. WARREN.

To Arthur Lee, Esq., London.

P. S.—Please to let Mr. Sayer and Sheriff Lee know that I shall write to them by the first opportunity. This will be handed you by our good friend Mr. Barrell, who will give you a more particular account of our public affairs.”

“ BOSTON, Sept. 17th, 1776.

Sir,—The situation of the enclosed, directed to my care by our good friend Mr. Lovell, makes it necessary that I should explain to you by what means it has been opened.

Your letter, with several others enclosed to me by Mr. Lovell, was intrusted to the care of a young gentleman of character who was bound to this place; but neglecting to take a pass, he was stopped in the Jerseys by a justice of the peace, who opened most of the letters before he would suffer him to pass, and yours among the rest. I am extremely sorry for this accident. It would have given me great pleasure to have forwarded them to you in the state they left Philadelphia; however, I conceive no bad consequence will arise from this circumstance. I have not the pleasure of being personally known to you, but I have the satisfaction of ranking myself with those who respect your character, and the merit of your services to this country; and who, while they detest the ingratitude of others who have injured both, wish to embrace every opportunity to do you service, and to testify their esteem.

I am sir, with great respect and sincerity, your friend and most humble servant,

J. WARREN.*

Arthur Lee, Esq., at Paris.”

* James Warren, of Plymouth.

"PLYMOUTH, Dec. 18th, 1780.

My Dear Sir,—I should before this have acknowledged the receipt of your favour of the 30th of October, had I not flattered myself with an expectation that I should very soon have been able to have ascertained (in the manner you desired) the several facts you mention. I immediately applied to Mr. Blodget for that purpose; he assured me that the business should be soon done. But it was, notwithstanding my repeated applications, delayed till I left the town; from which I have been detained much longer than I expected, but I design to return in about ten days, and shall then make it one of the first matters of my attention. Mr. Blodget will inform you, and perhaps some of the court-martial, who are not among your best friends, may inform some of their connexions at Philadelphia, of the discovery made in the course of Blodget's evidence, of your having goods on board the Alliance to the amount of 500 guineas. This they will endeavour to magnify into a crime of some consequence, but with very little effect here, and I hope with as little at Philadelphia.

I am exceedingly glad that you find congress in so good a disposition. I hope matters of every kind will be settled to your mind; and among the rest, sooner or later, the several affairs you mention.

You will have heard before this, into what hands the administration of our new government is lodged. The chief-magistrate possesses a popularity and influence never exceeded if known in any other country. The tide has flowed very suddenly, and may ebb with equal rapidity. Violent things do not often last long. At present all ranks of people in the capital are intoxicated with the glare of profession, which they do not distinguish from that generosity and hospitality,

with which the interest of a state may be connected. Balls, public and private entertainments, and feasts, more suitable to the effeminacy and ridiculous manners of Asiatic slavery, than to the hardy and sober manners of a New-England republic, have marked this era ; and ushered in the execution of a government, designed to establish and secure public liberty and happiness. But I hope this infection will not extend far into the country.

Public virtue, and an attention to the security of public liberty, are seldom found in cities ; they must be looked for in the sober and manly retreats of husbandmen and shepherds, where frivolous manners, commerce, and high stages of civilization, have not debauched the principles and reason of mankind.

Mrs. Warren desires her compliments to Dr. Lee, and thinks herself honoured by his esteem and friendship. You will please to remember me to Mr. Adams and Mr. Lovell, and give my compliments to Col. Lee, if present.

I have the honour to be sir, with great esteem, your friend and obedient humble servant,

J. WARREN.

Arthur Lee, Esq., Philadelphia."

" BOSTON, Jan. 10th, 1781.

Dear Sir,—I did myself the pleasure to write you from Plymouth about three weeks ago ; when I informed you that I had not then been able to ascertain, as you desired, the several facts into which you requested me to enquire, and that I expected to do it so soon as I returned.

Upon my arrival here I applied to Mr. Blodget, and am informed that he, supposing you would wish to have them soon, had transmitted the necessary pa-

pers to you before I returned. I hope you have received them, and that they will fully answer your wishes.

We have no news here but what comes from the southward. The general court are getting in order, arranging their finances, and doing every thing in their power to complete their battalions, and to supply the army.

I hear they are publishing in New-York the letters they purloined from our posts, among which is said to be one from you to Dr. Cooper. I hope the publication of their contents will prove no injury to you.

I am sir, with great respect, your most obedient humble servant,

J. WARREN.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

" BOSTON, April 29th, 1781.

Dear Sir,—It is now a long time since I had the pleasure of a line from you. I did hope before this time I might address you as the secretary of foreign affairs. When I heard the measure for appointing one was adopted, I had no difficulty in my own mind in fixing on the proper person. I hoped that the decision of congress would be agreeable to my own wishes. Is any thing done about that matter, or on the report of a committee for recalling Dr. Franklin? You can't conceive how little we know here of the affairs in Europe, or even of transactions at Philadelphia. Such depredations have been made on the mails, that our friends seem to be very cautious of writing; but as no instances have lately taken place, I hope they will resume their usual freedom of communication. I think they may do it with safety. We have no news here. Our internal affairs are in the

same way as when you left us. An established popularity has decided our elections, in the same manner as the last year. It is difficult to say how long this may last. Streams of all kinds will have their run for a time, but they often form their own bars, and stop their own sluices; perhaps this may be the case here. I have not yet been able to procure a survey and plan of your grant of lands, but am not inattentive to it. You will please to make my compliments to Gen. Ward and Mr. Lovell. I suppose our friend Adams is on the road. The purser of the Alliance certainly deceived you; he never had any such license from the navy board here, but that is no fault of yours; besides, who could suppose that a public minister might not bring a small quantity of goods in a public ship, without any reflections or demands on him? Certainly the navy board would have conceived it their duty to have given orders for it. Mrs. Warren desires her compliments to Dr. Lee. I hope in his next tour to Boston to have the pleasure of seeing him at my house, without the trouble of riding forty-two miles in the rain.

My compliments to Col. Lee. Is he now a member of congress? I am sir, with great respect, your sincere friend and humble servant,

Jos. WARREN.

To Arthur Lee, Esq."

"BOSTON, July 4th, 1781.

Dear Sir,—Two days ago I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 15th ultimo. I began to suspect that all my letters to you had miscarried; had you received those of a more recent date you would have been informed that every attention had been paid by me to get the land laid out. Some acci-

dents prevented it last fall; after which it could not be done until late in the spring, or the beginning of summer. I believe the gentlemen are now on the business. The next session I hope will finish the whole. Blodget undoubtedly did wrong. The tories will never miss an opportunity to injure you; but they can avail themselves of so little advantage from the discovery that all their movements will only expose their own malice without hurting you. I think the whole matter too trifling to give you any uneasiness.

Your observations on the political state of our affairs I believe are just, and therefore painful to a man who never had any thing in view but the interest and happiness of his country. I own that it would have cooled my ardour if I could have foreseen that the conduct of our affairs would have fallen into such hands, or that such an influence would have prevailed at so early a period. But what is to be done? Must not the same virtuous exertions be made to counteract *them* that were at first made to set the wheels agoing? If this country is finally saved, I shall be more convinced than ever that a *few* are entitled to the honour, which perhaps neither gratitude nor justice will ever ensure to them. I hope my friends in Virginia will escape the calamities they are threatened with. You will please make my compliments to them and all the staunch friends to the cause of America.

Continue to write to me, and be assured that I am your friend and most humble servant,

Jos. WARREN.

Dr. Lee."

"MILTON, July 1st, 1782.

Dear Sir,—I have postponed acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 8th of April, in full expectation that I should be able to receive the interest on your money enclosed, and to have sent it to you at the same time; but such is the situation of our treasury that I have yet no more than the assurances of the treasurer that it shall be paid as soon as possible. I hope it will not be a great while before I shall receive it. I think there were a few dollars more in your bundle than the list expressed. The grant made you by our assembly has not been located. You have been unlucky. We once had an excellent committee for that purpose, having upon that committee the man of all others, I wished for; he set out to perform the business, but was seized unhappily with a disorder that has rendered him forever incapable of that and other public business. My friends in the assembly have obtained another committee. I shall do what I can to have the business completed soon.

Mr. Deane's election has operated as such an event would in an old state in the highest stages of corruption. Those who have countenanced and profited by his wickedness, instead of incurring punishment or odium, are distinguished by an accumulation of confidence and honours. What are we next to expect? Every appearance indicates that the follies and vices of America will equal her rapid progress in population and empire. If the genuine patriots of 1774 could have foreseen the events of 1781 and 1782, the prospect would have damped their ardour. They certainly would have lamented that one man more had not been created, capable of relieving Mr.

— from the burthen of holding two great offices, connected neither in nature or policy.

For my own part, I fear the loss of the fishery: I fear the effects of foreign influence and domestic intrigue. I fear the effects of the total extinction of patriotism, and the introduction of selfish and sordid views. I think I see the foundation of an aristocracy laid, that will bring upon us the same curses and calamities it has brought on every other country where it has prevailed. I wish I may be mistaken.

Mrs. Warren desires her compliments to you. It would add greatly to the pleasure of our present situation if we could see you at Milton. As it is we have the satisfaction of enjoying the good wishes of a man of virtue and honour.

I am with the greatest esteem dear sir, your friend and humble servant,

J. WARREN.

Hon. Dr. Lee."

"MILTON, March 14th, 1783.

My Dear Sir,—I received yours of the 19th of Feb. a few days ago, and upon my first going to town procured an attested copy of the resolve you desired, which is herewith enclosed. If you ever requested it before it must have been in a missing letter, as I do not recollect your ever expressing a wish to have it before now. The committee for laying out the lands have not yet done the business. The delays that have taken place are to be sure very extraordinary; I do not wonder if they appear suspicious to you; they did so to me, at a certain period; but I am inclined to think they are more owing to a spirit of indolence or procrastination than to any other cause. Yesterday the matter was called up in the assembly, and another gentleman added to the com-

mittee. Whether this will expedite the business time will discover. I shall watch and push it as fast as I can.

I wish for peace, but I suspect no great progress is yet made in that business ; what the obstacles are, and indeed every thing relating to the matter seems to be strangely concealed, even from those who ought to be informed minutely. A packet for congress arrived here a week ago, and I am informed was not sent off by the governor until yesterday. Whether his great sagacity suggested to him that it contained nothing important, or whether he was prevented by want of public money, which I hear is the reason given, I cannot say. I hope it will arrive safely, and give you some intelligence agreeable to your own wishes ; but I rather suspect that your expectations from that quarter are not very flattering.

You will probably receive Mr. Adams' resignation before this reaches you, and be at no loss to account for the cause of it. You know the instructions of congress to the commissioners for making peace, and from them and this resignation can judge what may be the apprehensions of New-England. If we lose our fishery, or have the territory to which we have a decisive right curtailed, we shall not set very easy under it. We shall at least execrate as wretched that policy which gave them up, even if it originated at Versailles or Philadelphia. And as we have not virtue enough to live without commerce, while we see the southern states extending theirs upon staples which they are not deprived of, we may possibly have recourse to measures I never wish to see taken.

I wrote you by Gen. Lincoln, which I hope you have received before now.

I am, with my regards to all friends, your most obedient humble servant,

J. WARREN.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

A LETTER FROM GENERAL WHIPPLE.

"PORTSMOUTH, Sept. 15th, 1783.

Dear Sir,—When your highly esteemed favour of the 23d of July arrived here, I was on a long journey, which deprived me of the pleasure of receiving it until very lately.

Not meeting you in Philadelphia last winter was a very great disappointment to me, as I ardently wished for an interview with a gentleman, for whom I have long entertained the highest esteem.

No true friend to the union, who has had an opportunity of seeing the baneful influence of Philadelphia, can regret the removal of congress from that city; but I wish some other cause had effected it. Is there not reason to apprehend, that when that passion which seems to have been the immediate cause of the removal subsides, the same influence which held congress so long there, will draw it back? I must confess I have my fears that this will be the case, and deprecate the consequences.

Your observation that the people of America do not read the journals of congress, is very just. They are rarely to be met with at this distance, which I think is to be regretted, as I have no doubt much good would arise from a more general knowledge of the doings of congress.

I must request the favour of you sir, to forward the enclosed letter to your excellent brother; and have the honour to be, with very great esteem and respect,
sir, your most obedient humble servant,

W^M. WHIPPLE."

. Arthur Lee, Esq."

LETTERS FROM THE HON. MR. DANA.

“AMSTERDAM, May 17th, 1781.

Dear Sir,—At the same time I received my despatches for a certain court, I had the honour of your very obliging favour of the 28th of December last, intended to introduce me to the acquaintance of the Baron de Breteuil, ambassador of France at Vienna, supposing that city to lay in my route; but as I do not take my departure from Paris, but from this place, I shall not have it in my power to reap any benefit from it. I am nevertheless exceedingly obliged to you for your friendly and polite attention to me. I am happy that it was made my duty to come here, and to consult before my departure ‘him who negotiates the peace.’ Between us there is a real friendship, and a most perfect confidence, from which I derive much satisfaction; and I think it cannot but be attended with a happy influence upon our respective negotiations. They are certainly intimately connected, and ought therefore to be conducted upon a thorough good understanding of each other’s systems. I mean our present negotiations. As to the former business of peace, which is still at a distance, I know not into whose hands that may fall, but I hope the *principal* may not be changed. I *know* there are attempts making on this side of the Atlantic, to shift it into the hands of *another*. You are too well acquainted with men and things here, to be in much doubt about place or persons. I thank you for your wishes for the success of my particular business. I am sensible ‘my mission is not without its difficulties;’ and when I contemplate these, and the real importance of the mission, I feel that I have undertaken a task too great for my abilities. However, I must attempt the exer-

cution of it, or it must be left wholly unattempted for a length of time, when perhaps much greater abilities might fail of success, through a change of circumstances. I have some reason to think that court favourably disposed towards us at present; though upon this point I shall be better able to form a judgment, when I am upon the ground. It is my present sentiment, that the maritime powers want nothing but good information, to convince them that it is for their substantial interest to form the most intimate connexions with our country, and that speedily. If they have rid themselves of their fearful apprehensions, and will dare to communicate freely with our ministers, our business may be brought to a happy issue in good season; but if a shyness and timidity still have place among them, the wished for event will be prolonged, to the vexation of those whose lot it is to be immediately connected with them.

I have given an invitation to Mr. Edmund Jenings to accompany me in my mission; he has accepted it, and is now with me. I have acquainted congress of it; and wish you to inform such members of congress as are ignorant of his character, what that is, and of the propriety of the measure; as you must clearly see the necessity of having some confidential person about me in case of accidents.

I congratulate you upon the general success of Col. Laurens's negotiation at the court of Versailles. I should be exceedingly happy to find all our negotiations succeed as well. Yet the gentleman has been calumniated in one of the English papers in a gross manner. His real character has been denied in the face of Europe, and he has been held up in a very inferior one. They have been told that he is deficient in experience and abilities; and that therefore congress supplied this deficiency, by putting him under the patronage of Mr. Payne. From this scandal he has not

wanted a vindication. He will need none in our country.

I am much gratified by the naval exertions of our allies in America. Mons. le M. Pignet has happily succeeded in his plan of intercepting the Dutch ships sent from St. Eustatia for England, under convoy of two ships of the line and two frigates. He has captured twenty-one sail of merchantmen. The rest, with the ships of war, have escaped. This will be a mortifying blow to that piratical nation, as well as to the chiefs of their plundering gang. I rejoice likewise in the action between Gen. Green, and Lord Cornwallis; though we lost the field, yet we shall reap an essential benefit from the action. The enemy did not pursue Gen. Green to his halting ground, only at the distance of three miles from the field; the reason is plain, they gained the field at too dear a rate. Another such victory will ruin the British there. We have only to fight them in order to conquer them.

My dear sir, may I hope in my separate and very distant station, for the honour and benefit of your correspondence. You must know the worth, because you have experienced the want of early and good information from our country. Its interests I need not tell you are deeply affected in this. I wish it was in my power to lay any inducement before you to gratify me in my request; I mean of a valuable return in the same line. But the persuasion that you will be rendering very essential service to our country, will alone be an irresistible inducement to you.

I am dear sir, with sentiments of the highest respect and esteem, your friend and most obedient humble servant,

F. DANA.

P. S.—I beg you to present my best regards to

your brothers R. H. Lee, and F. L. Lee, with whom I had, when in congress, the honour of an acquaintance. You may address your letters to the care of Messrs. Sigourney & Co., Amsterdam. You may frequently write to this country by way of Boston. France or Spain is too distant.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

" October 25th, 1782.

Dear Sir,—The last post brought me your favour of the 6th of July last, in which you acknowledge the receipt of my letter of the 17th of June 1781, which it seems had been more than a year on its way to you, having been about the world in the South Carolina frigate. I am much gratified by your readiness to enter into a friendly correspondence with me. I have been in much want of a particular private correspondent in your quarter. There are many things to be learnt through such a channel *only*, which it is of importance for me to know. I have been long enough in your residence to feel the full force of your observations respecting it. Your account of the unchangeable nature of a real tory is such as I have not yet found an exception to; but those radical enemies of our cause, of public liberty and of the rights of humanity, too often find advocates among those whom we should perhaps injure, if we should suspect them to be wanting in the soundness and purity of their own principles; and, under the notion of manifesting a liberal and forgiving spirit of conciliation, those artificial penitents are sometimes introduced into office to the exclusion of others, whose integrity in the true political faith, and whose misfortunes, not unfrequently occasioned by that very integrity, should recommend them to the first notice of their country. But

in great revolutions like ours we must expect to find some wrong men and wrong things.

Touching one character you have mentioned, the same general opinion will prevail ; and as to another I know nothing personally about him, but if he is the man you describe, some folks should be on their guard. It may be advisable, when you have occasion to speak of such persons, to describe them by certain allusions which I shall understand ; because if your letters should be intercepted, a thing not improbable here, they might create some difficulties. As to Mr. A., whose political conduct has been censured by some, had he not pursued his own plans with that independence and boldness of spirit which strongly mark his character, and which, regulated by his good sense, never degenerates into rashness, in my opinion, the affairs of Europe would have worn a very different face at this day. I shall not perhaps be thought to attribute too much to him, by those who have attended to the progress of affairs in Holland, when I explain myself by saying that in all probability had he not taken the decided measures that he did, without suffering himself to be dissuaded or deterred from them by certain apprehensions of exposing the honour and dignity of the United States, not only not one of the united provinces would at this time have acknowledged our independence, but, by the aid of mediation and some other influences we should have seen a separate peace concluded between Britain and Holland ; and perhaps Holland in the other scale, where her weight would have been more sensibly seen and felt than it is at present. I need not explain myself further to you. Not having received a list of the elections for congress, and you being perfectly silent on the subject, I am at a loss to know whether or not you are a member of it. If I was certain you were, I should write you with much

freedom upon the subject contained in the first paragraph of your letter. It would otherwise, you are sensible, be improper for me to do it. That the independent spirit you speak of should not please some, or that it should startle others, does not at all surprise me. But pray if you are not a member, how happens it that you should know any thing about it? Answer me this question if you please. If you are a member you will know what treatment he who manifested such spirit, when he thought the interests of his country required it, has received on that account. If the 'hackneyed path' must be invariably pursued in all places and under all circumstances, a certain station is very safe, as all responsibility must cease together with the liberty of action. But at the same time it is not very pleasing nor honourable. I think there is not the least danger of the change you seem to apprehend, in the political system of a certain court. Their principal views, which the next year will open fully, are towards another quarter of the world ; and in such a case their political interests, if I do not mistake them, will dictate another system of measures, and point out the necessity of preserving appearances of friendly disposition (for there is in fact nothing more,) towards a power which might render their plans abortive, or at least the execution of them very difficult. Neither have I any fears of the accomplishment of the aim you speak of (if it exist.) For in my opinion America alone, if she does not sacrifice the necessary foundation for it, (you will understand me) may, shortly after this war, be in a condition to prevent any such plan. I already in prospect behold our country putting a check upon all such ambitious designs. The balance is in her hand, if she is wise for herself in time. I confide the sentiments of this letter to your prudence and friendship ; you will be cautious to whom you may disclose them.

I have the honour to be, dear sir, with much esteem and respect, your most obedient, humble servant,
F. DANA.

Hon. Arthur Lee, Esq."

"CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 3d, 1784.

Dear Sir,—Yesterday I was honoured with your most obliging favour of the 3d of January, and I beg your acceptance of my most sincere thanks for the fresh instance of your friendship. You may depend upon my seconding your views, and those of my other friends, by coming on to congress as soon as possible. The interests of our country may require this of me. I think it absolutely necessary, if congress have it in contemplation, to send another minister to the court of St. Petersburg. It seems impossible for them to give him instructions adapted to the state of affairs there, without receiving more particular information than they have yet had. Perhaps the honour of our country also requires that a measure of that sort should not be precipitated. These sentiments I confide to your discretion ; and will not at this time enter more particularly upon that subject.

I am much pleased to learn that it was your opinion that no one in congress is, in any manner, dissatisfied with my conduct. This is much more than I had reason to expect, considering the means that have been practised to injure me most essentially in that assembly. I hope to have the happiness of finding you in congress on my arrival there. I thank you for your congratulations upon my safe arrival.

I am, sir, your most obliged friend, &c.

F. DANA.

Hon. Arthur Lee, Esq."

LETTERS FROM MR. WILLIAM GORDON.

"JAMAICA PLAIN, Oct. 2d, 1782.

My Dear Sir,—I venture to write by the post, as mail-robbing, I suppose, will be at an end for the present ; besides I shall not hazard any important secrets by the conveyance. When I had the pleasure of talking personally with you, I was induced by what you said to entertain a favourable opinion of Mr. John Temple, in which I have been confirmed by finding that Dr. Price confided in him. It pains me therefore to observe with what eagerness some individuals are endeavouring to hunt him down as a British spy ; the foremost of whom that appear in view is Mr. J*** S****, brother to a Hampshire delegate of that name. The assault is carried on upon the ground of a letter from the president of congress to the governor, dated the first of last March. That letter is I conceive no credit to congress. I suspect there has been underhand managément, what we should call in B**** foul play ; and I wish, if you believe Temple innocent, that you would assist in searching it out. There is an allusion in the president's letter, of one's having been received from Mr. John Adams concerning him ; but instead of telling what Mr. Adams writes concerning him, we are put off with the tale of what he doth not say (I use the term we, the letter having been made public.) Can you not send me a copy of what Adams did write ? I am also desirous of knowing how it came about that congress was roused out of their slumber, after having dozed so long, from the knowledge of Temple's arrival in October, to attend to a matter of so great magnitude, as the president respects it, towards the last of February. Who was it that first cried out in that honourable body (who, while

they employ Franklin in France and Adams in Holland to obtain intelligence, build their suspicions upon rumours and publications in England) a spy! a spy! a traitor! Could I learn by your means who first set forward the business in congress, and whether he did it of his own proper motion, or was pushed on by a concealed principal, I might possibly trace out the important movements. Let me have your assistance, and information whether I am at liberty to mention your having communicated the intelligence when I shall have received it. We have been making a loud noise about liberty, let us not act then in defiance of it. If what should be the first body in America raise an outcry against any person upon mere suspicions without evidence, and then set this or the other state to which he may belong to hunt him down, where are we? Who is safe from the concealed attacks and artful contrivances of the dark assassin?

By a private hand, I think Mr. Clarkson of Philadelphia, I answered your letter that I received some time before. In being speedy, you will add to the obligations laid upon your very humble servant and sincere friend,

WILLIAM GORDON.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

"JAMAICA PLAIN, April 2d, 1783.

Dear Sir,—Hearty congratulations on an honourable peace, in a most critical season of American affairs, must first be mentioned; and then I may add, that to two letters I have received no answers; tomorrow I may not be able to say so, when I shall have been at the post-office. To the last I can expect no answer till the next week, it having been sent

only a fortnight; one side of the sheet contained a curious extract from the London Courant of January the 10th, being a letter of commendation to President Laurens, in favour of Silas Deane, when the latter returned to Philadelphia, and a certificate signed the middle of last December by Dr. Franklin, in behalf of the said Deane's honesty in his mercantile transactions for congress, to remove impressions that might be made upon the public by some charges printed against him; the other side, a plan of an impost that should not interfere with the rights and sovereignties of individual states, and form the ground work for enslaving the continent.

What may have been sent you from France I know not, but you may depend upon the following information.

The British would not allow the boundaries of Nova Scotia to terminate at St. Croix, but demanded Kennebeck at first, and afterwards insisted upon Penobscot as their ultimatum, until Mr. Adams produced the records of the Massachusetts, and the authorities of Shirley, Pownal, Bernard, and Hutchinson, as well as the original grant of Nova Scotia by James the First to William Alexander, and invited the British minister to state a written claim of Kennebec or Penobscot as the boundary of Nova Scotia, that it might be answered in writing, which brought him to reason. The fishery cost more trouble; and satisfaction could not be obtained on that point, until Mr. Laurens and Mr. Adams told the British negotiators, what their colleagues assented to, by their silence at least, that they never would put their hands to any articles, without an express acknowledgment of right to the fishery, and tolerable satisfaction upon all other points respecting it. They were obliged to do a great deal for British creditors, and even for the refugees; but they hoped this would be of no lasting detriment to

our country. They had indeed a great deal of danger and trouble from the quarter whence I suspected it, but by a judicious manœuvre got fairly to the windward.

Mr. Jay has done himself great honour, by his wise conduct throughout the whole business. Mr. Laurens was present only the two last days, the 29th and 30th of November, and his behaviour was consistent with himself. Dr. Franklin, from the time of Mr. Adams's arrival, went on with them in perfect unison.

Virginia I trust will watch the motions of Pennsylvania, and prevent our becoming provinces to that power. Methinks congress should be removed. Would not New-York be as eligible a situation for a while? It is central; it is healthy in summer; it is an open port both summer and winter; it is easy to get at by yachts from the most distant state. There are too many of that state indeed that are for lording it over their brothers; but when Pennsylvania finds that the seat of continental government is removed, it will probably become a staunch advocate for the universal liberty of America, and be a counterpoise to the York patrones. Having happily finished the game with Great Britain, never let us suffer ourselves to be bilked out of the stakes by any single state whatsoever, lest we become the laughing-stock instead of the admiration of the world.

The confederation must be adhered to, or else the union will be of no long continuance. The spirits of the baymen will rise, now they are in no danger from a foreign enemy, and they will soon be as zealous for their state rights and privileges, as any others, the Rhode Islanders not excepted. I wish disagreeable difficulties may not be produced by the military. Something handsome ought to be done for the officers; but it must be left to the states to adjust the consideration with their own corps. The wise and

honest among you will have full employment. It may be our happiness that we have no treasury, or it might prove an engine in the hands of individuals to destroy our liberties. I was pleased to hear that Col. B. was opposed to any place's being a vortex.

I have written under disadvantages, not being so well as usual, but was desirous of writing, and I trust to your candour to excuse faults. Had Mr. Adams arrived three weeks ago, (not that he is arrived) I could have told you who would be governor; but who will be chosen next Monday, is somewhat uncertain. When leisure admits, let me have an answer, with all that secret history which may be communicated with propriety, accompanied with directions whether to conceal it or to spread it in conversation; and you will oblige your very humble servant and sincere friend,

WILLIAM GORDON."

A LETTER FROM MR. LOVELL.

"YORKTOWN, May 3d, 1778.

Dear Sir,—Your favour of Nov. 24th was yesterday delivered to me; and I feel myself greatly obliged by the affectionate and honorary terms in which you speak of my sufferings, my regained liberty, and my engagements in the service of my country.

In the month of October 1775, I used the freedom of writing to you from Boston prison, by a Mr. William Powell, who had also in charge some papers to enable you to stigmatize the mean cruelties of Gage, who was then exulting in his command; but the papers which I afterwards sent you from Halifax jail, by an amiable lady, afforded proofs of scientific barbarity in Howe, which tended to obliterate the memory of what I had endured under his predecessor. I

had the imagination at that time of pursuing those men personally to Europe; but when I heard my countrymen had wisely declared independence, I felt myself instantly repaid for all my losses and bodily injuries.

I will not endeavour to constrain you to believe, that I am governed at this day by feelings and motives of the most laudable patriotism. I am not anxious to disavow a degree of the spirit of retaliation, which our enemies seem to have been industrious to excite in us. It would be false affectation of universal benevolence to say, I lament the present disgrace of Britain. Whether she mends upon it or not, I must rejoice at it, though upon different principles.

As your worthy brother will be particular to you in addition to public letters, I will only add my congratulations upon the present alliance with France, and close by assuring you of my most sincere wishes for your personal felicity; being sir, your obliged humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

LETTERS FROM THE HON. J. DICKINSON TO A. LEE.

"PHILADELPHIA, April 20, 1769.

Dear Sir,—I am greatly obliged to you for your favour of the 31st of December, and am extremely glad to receive such a proof of your remembering me with esteem at so great a distance.

Notwithstanding all the unfavourable circumstances operating against these colonies, yet I hope that a few months will demonstrate the truth of your observation, that nothing will more effectually frustrate the

pernicious purposes of the ministers against them than an inviolable union.

This union seems to be now formed, as I believe every colony has now joined in the common cause. Some indeed, but let it be spoken in whispers, very slowly, very awkwardly. However, at length spirit, patriotism, shame, and fear, all speak the same language.

Can you believe it, my dear sir, that there are *Americans*, who discouraged to the utmost of their power the first struggles against the present oppression of their country, yet afterwards being forced from their subterfuges, pretend to act the part of Catos?

A just resentment against these men makes me almost pardon the crimes of ministers, as being of an inferior degree, and in some measure produced by the folly or wickedness of my countrymen. I think with you that the appointment of such agents, as many of the colonies choose, plainly has this tendency. Men, who are either totally unconnected with the colonies, or whose connexions are rendered trifling in their own view, by dependencies on ministerial power.

I must confess that the choice of such trustees of their rights and interests, appears to me one of the most extraordinary things in the conduct of my countrymen. Yet I am not surprised at it; for nothing is more true than that a people fond of liberty and striving for it, will in the midst of their efforts do things inconsistent with common sense, and glaringly injurious to the cause they are asserting. So much am I persuaded of this, that I am positive I could mention a colony that would be pleased to have their agent become more dependent than he is upon administration.

I have often thought, and still think, that so great was the veneration of these colonies for Great Bri-

tain, such affection was impressed on our bosoms towards the people of that kingdom from our infancy, and so unsuspecting were we of any oppressive designs on her part, that, if the least policy had been used in executing the schemes of those men who were anxious of innovating, they might have fixed indissoluble shackles upon us, before we were warned of their intentions. But, by the blessing of Providence, so impudently stupid has their overweening conceit made them, that they would not be satisfied without insulting us by showing us the chains and rattling them before they attempted to put them on.

I do not believe that an arbitrary spirit engaged in such great projects, ever committed so many rash, ridiculous actions.

What temper, what prudence can we expect in administration, when we find the house of lords desiring his majesty that offences committed in America may be tried 'within the realm,' under the statute of Henry the 8th's time, which was evidently intended for the trial of offences where the king had no courts open, and where the king could not be supposed to have any subjects settled.

What American could vindicate his innocence when torn from his home, from all those acquainted with his character, unable to compel the attendance of his witnesses on the other side of the Atlantic, and the weight of government thrown into the prosecution?

May you be blest with the health to assert on the spot, against the weak and the wicked, the cause of your country and of that liberty which I know you so dearly love, and are so capable of defending.

That every happiness may attend you is the earnest wish of, dear sir, your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

JOHN DICKINSON."

"PHILADELPHIA, June 26, 1769.

Dear Sir,—I am much obliged to you for your favour of the 26th of February, and hope the maxim you lay down will be universally adopted on this continent, 'that from the justice of Great Britain nothing is to be expected ; from her fears and interests every thing.'

I think this sentiment is generally taking place ; and having informed ourselves what are the best measures for promoting our welfare, I hope we shall have virtue enough to persist in them. Much reliance I doubt not is placed in our vanity and carelessness : that our enemies flatter themselves that these will engage some of us to break through the general resolutions that have been taken against importing British manufactures ; that when a few have departed from this resolution others will follow their example ; and thus individuals and colonies, impatient to be on a footing with one another, will dissolve their noble and formidable association.

This kind of reasoning is specious enough ; but our enemies should at the same time consider that an oppressed state may be so violently irritated by the injustice done to them, that it becomes dangerous for those members of it who have not virtue enough to espouse the true interests of their country through principle, to discover the want of this virtue. They are bound by their fears, by their distresses, to co-operate with the society in the means used for obtaining relief. Our enemies should also consider that by a concurrence of events it happens that the very measure pursued by the people of this continent to bring Great Britain to reason, is extremely suited to the present circumstances of the colonies, even if the immediate cause of disgust was taken away. These

circumstances and this cause together operate so powerfully among us, that I, who confess that I have no idea of our happiness, unless we are dependent on Great Britain, am afflicted at the prospect that sometimes presents itself to my mind. For very much I fear that such a spirit of manufactory and economy will irremovably settle among us, as may affect the vitals of that country. Never, surely, was the welfare of a country played with by such despicable politicians. They are teasing, they are forcing us to injure the state we love and revere. If we may consider the connexion between Great Britain and this continent as a marriage, in which the parties are always happiest when they never dispute about their rights, then these flattering statesmen may justly be called political adulterers, who utterly poison the peace of families. I always hear from you with pleasure, but I shall read with inexpressible satisfaction those lines which shall inform me that public affairs are put into the hands of men possessed of some virtue and good sense.

I congratulate you on the noble conduct of Virginia. The particulars you will see in the papers.

I am, dear sir, with great sincerity, your very affectionate and very humble servant,

JOHN DICKINSON.

I return you many thanks for procuring me the honour of your brother's correspondence. I cannot tell you how much I esteem it."

" PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 25th, 1769.

Dear Sir,—I am much obliged to you for your favour of the 2d of June, and the 26th of August, which

I should have answered sooner, but that they were a long time coming to my hands.

I sincerely thank you for the vigilant zeal with which you attend to the interests of our injured country; and I begin to hope that you will find your generous efforts rewarded by a successful issue of our anxious and painful struggles for liberty. Surely nothing can more advance this cause than the well concerted plan you mention, of joining our force to that of the public spirited men who are now asserting the rights of Englishmen, against those degenerated Englishmen who would destroy them.

I am extremely pleased with your enumeration of our grievances; but am afraid so just a recapitulation of them, and so strong a remonstrance as is made in some of the addresses, may effect but a partial relief.

There is a littleness and an obstinacy in late measures, that seem to threaten great and dangerous consequences. I apprehend that the magnanimity and wisdom, to do perfect justice, and to conduct affairs with true policy, will be wanting. Twists and turns to answer the private ends of ministers, we may expect; but an adherence to the grand principles of government, tending to the mutual happiness of sovereign and subject, we cannot expect.

Therefore, as we cannot in the slightest manner confide in our rulers, we must take care of ourselves; and it is with sincere satisfaction I can assure you, that a resolution to pursue such measures as most probably will effectually vindicate our rights, seems to be firmly formed.

The merchants of this city, who waited a long time before they took any step, are now exerting themselves to prevent the importation of British goods. The people of Rhode Island did not enter into the agreement till lately; and perhaps would not have done it yet, if our merchants, and those of Boston

and New-York, had not begun to concert measures that would have proved very disagreeable to the Rhode Islanders.

Some of these agreements mention ‘the late revenue acts;’ and a doubt has arisen among some well disposed persons, whether the importation of goods should be prohibited until the repeal of the paper and glass act only, or of that act and the 4th of Geo. 3d. ch. 18th, the preamble of which shows it to be a revenue act.

I wish sir, you would be so good as to have this point well explained to administration and parliament. Certainly the two acts mentioned should be repealed. So should any other of the same nature; and I am told there is such a one in the sixth year of the present reign, though I have not seen it. If the paper and glass act alone is repealed, heart-burnings and economical measures will still prevail; and by establishing discontent and inventive industry among us, Great Britain will lose solid and lasting blessings, in pursuit of empty and fleeting advantages. May divine goodness inspire her with a right understanding, both for her sake and our own.

That you, dear sir, may enjoy every happiness, is the sincere wish of your very affectionate and very obedient servant,

JOHN DICKINSON.”

“PHILADELPHIA, March 31st, 1770.

Dear Sir,—Some engagements that particularly called upon me, have prevented me from writing to you so frequently as my esteem for you inclined me to do; but the intermission has afforded me one pleasure, in finding your regard for me is so sincere, as to pardon the seeming neglect.

Your account of Lord Shelburne's and Col. Barré's sentiments, give great satisfaction here. Your high character of his lordship exactly agrees with the opinion I entertain of him. It is difficult at this distance to judge rightly of characters; but from a view of his conduct, I am persuaded he adds such integrity to his other great qualities, that I heartily wish him possessed of power that would enable him to exercise his virtue and knowledge in the most extensive manner.

Our countrymen continue firm. They know that not only their own inestimable interests, but '*et fata nepotum,*' depends on their resolution. Would to Heaven that ministers also would but consider, that their conduct may decide the fortunes of their country to the latest posterity.

Accidents and expedients may serve the short space of one or two administrations. The exports to Germany, Russia, and Turkey, may keep the people quiet for a while; but when these demands cease, and the nation looks among her despised, insulted colonies for a market, she may find their resentment, industry, and frugality, have raised impenetrable obstructions to her former most profitable commerce. '*Nihil vi nihil secessione opus est.*' No force, no emigration, is necessary for our protection. Divine providence has put it into our power, properly to resent the indignities offered us, the injustice done us, in a manner suitable to our loyalty for our prince, our affection for our parental country. Homespun clothes are all the armour, spades and ploughshares the weapons we shall use in this holy war. So gentle and so effectual are the means we shall employ. Yet, to speak freely, my heart bleeds at the prospect of our success. How mournful a reflection is it, that a just regard for ourselves must wound Great Britain, the mother of

brave, generous, humane spirit, the chief bulwark of liberty on this globe, and the blessed seat of unspotted religion.

To this fatal extremity however are we driven with all the united fury of folly and wickedness. Every wrong measure against us sets us more and more right in our defence. We are more and more excited, combined, encouraged, and determined.

While rash ministers are guided by the false representations of villainous crown officers on this continent, and are bouncing about dignity and authority, they are undermining with the most industrious and reckless stupidity the strongest foundations of their sovereign's and their country's felicity.

You will hear too soon of the Bostonian massacre. Perhaps it may be thought at home that the other colonies will little regard what immediately relates to that province. But you may depend on it, sir, that they will think and act as they ought to do. It is true we have in every colony men of some note, who would sacrifice the best rights of their countrymen to their own views; but these are drops in the ocean. They have been adorned indeed by the crown officers with the title of 'the better sort of people.' But in matters of importance they are not worth mentioning. The body is sound and strong, and will indubitably triumph in the end over its internal and external enemies.

Please to present my compliments with the utmost respect to Mrs. Macauley. I have taken the proper steps to permit the importation of her valuable history.

I am, dear sir, with the most sincere esteem, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

JOHN DICKINSON."

"PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 31, 1770.

Dear Sir,—I very gratefully acknowledge the receipt of your valuable letters, which I should have answered more regularly, had I not been particularly engaged for some months past.

After what has taken place, I scarcely know how to write of my unfortunate countrymen. Your observations are extremely just. We must owe our political salvation to the body of the people. I believe a great deal might be done at present by addressing them to engage in associations for controlling the merchants. But I do not think it would be proper for me to undertake that office *now*,—not for fear of ‘offending ministers or great men in asserting the rights of the injured.’ No martyred saint ever beheld his butchers with more despairing pity, than I do the whole apparatus of tyranny. But to move great bodies strongly and permanently there must be the appearance of deliberation in one’s conduct.

I am truly moderate. I wish only for ‘*placidam sub libertate quietem*;’ and I am for attaining the blessing by the most gentle means.

My countrymen have been provoked, but not quite enough. Thanks to the excellent spirit of administration, I doubt not but proper measures will be pursued for provoking them still more. Some future oppression will render them more attentive to what is offered to them; and the calm friend of freedom, who faithfully watches and calls out on a new danger, will be more regarded than if he endeavours to repeat the alarm on an attack that is thought to have been in some measure repelled. I do not despair. Our mercenaries have been defeated. Our native troops are firm. Afflicted I am and ever shall be that so considerable a class of men as the mercantile should

have failed. But there is a spirit and a strength in the land-holders of this continent sufficient to check the insolence of any infamously corrupt minister ; and so the most daring of them, perhaps sooner than he expects, may find.

Your recommendation of Mr. Sayre has, as it ought to have, the greatest weight with me. But the affairs of Massachusetts are so much out of my way, that it is not in my power to serve him.

I am, dear sir, with the utmost sincerity, your very affectionate friend, and most obedient servant,

JOHN DICKINSON."

"PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 21, 1771.

Dear Sir,—I am very much obliged to you for your favour ; and I cannot but acknowledge that your sentiments on our public affairs afford me the greatest satisfaction. I heartily wish some of our colonies would put it into your power more effectually to serve us. I sincerely congratulate you on the appointment of the Massachusetts assembly ; though, for more than one reason, I should have been much more pleased if it had been made in another manner.

I had the same hopes you entertained, sir, that the probability of a rupture with Spain might be favourable to the rights of the American provinces. Having been put into our house of assembly by this city last year, contrary to my inclination, I took the opportunity of moving for an address to the king for the repeal of the duty on tea, in order that we might harmonize with Virginia, and encourage the other colonies to take the same step. I was desirous of something spirited on the occasion, but ministerial influence has reached even to our stadt-house. After

much pruning, the address was modelled to the form it now bears, which I presume you will see in our papers.

The more I observe of what passes among us, or hear of what passes in Britain, the more I am induced to think we must wait for a cure till the waters are disturbed.

We may be provoked some other way, than by renewing the attempt to tax us; or if no fresh cause of discontent be afforded, a better opportunity may offer for obtaining redress. One thing I am convinced of, that we ought never to intermit our applications for relief. We should convince our oppressors that the injury '*manet alta mente repositum.*'

There is a strong spirit of liberty subsisting among us yet, notwithstanding the selfish views of some considerable men, and the quietness of the colonies in general. We must trust to that spirit for favourable circumstances, and a prudent use of them for success in our designs. As to our British friends, we ought to expect every thing from them but—assistance. I confide in providence that we shall not want it.

I hope sir, though you should fix your residence in Great Britain, that your affection and polities will always be American; and that your attachment to your native country will induce you, as I am persuaded it will, to communicate by means of your extensive acquaintance, such intelligence as you will judge to be generally beneficial.

I am, with the greatest sincerity, dear sir, your very affectionate friend, and most obedient servant,

JOHN DICKINSON."

"August 20th, 1774.

Dear Sir,—A general congress meets in Philadelphia the beginning of next month. These colonies have appointed deputies:—Massachusetts Bay, New-Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the government on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina. North Carolina it is said is to appoint on this day. Georgia will also appoint, as we are assured.

The insanity of parliament has operated like inspiration in America. They are mad to be sure, but in their phrenzy they have discovered invaluable truths.

The colonists now know what is designed against them. All classes of people are surprisingly united in sentiment. The first step in all probability will be a general non-importation from Great Britain. The next, if grievances are not redressed, a general non-exportation to that kingdom. If severities increase, events will inevitably take place, which a man so connected with this continent as you are, must view with inexpressible pain of mind.

The people in general through the country look forward to extremes with resolution. Of these the brave Germans, many of whom have seen service, are in every sense truly respectable. Is it possible that the people of our mother country, so beloved and revered by us, can seriously think of sheathing their swords in bosoms so affectionate to them? Of engaging in a war that must instantly produce such deficiencies in her revenues, expose her to her natural enemies, and, if she conquers, must in its consequences drag her down to destruction; and, if she fails of success, as, if the colonists have common sense she certainly must, will involve her in immediate ruin?

Surely sir, you may render your native country eminent services, by publishing your sentiments on the present mournful prospect of affairs. That you may undertake the employment, is the hearty wish of, dear sir, your affectionate friend, and most obedient servant,

JOHN DICKINSON.

I have just heard that Georgia has appointed deputies to attend the congress."

" PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 27th, 1774.

Dear Sir,—Yesterday the congress broke up. You will immediately know their proceedings from publications.

The colonists have now taken such grounds, that Great Britain must relax, or inevitably involve herself in a civil war, likely in all human probability to overwhelm her with a weight of calamities, in comparison of which, the contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster, or the distractions of the last century, were gentle misfortunes.

A determined and unanimous resolution animates this continent, firmly and faithfully to support the common cause, to the utmost extremity, in this great struggle for the blessing of liberty, a blessing that can alone render life worth holding.

I grieve for the fate of a brave and generous nation, plunged by a few profligate men into such scenes of unmerited and inglorious distress. Let her rouse her noble spirit, be true to herself, and she cannot fail of being true to us. Let her not so far adopt the schemes of base yet visionary men and knaves, that she may think her dignity concerned to maintain the

projects of those whom her justice commands her to punish.

Give up the Butes, Mansfields, Norths, Bernards, and Hutchinsons, whose falsehoods and misrepresentations have inflamed the people; call not their cause the cause of Great Britain, throw all errors and occasions of dissatisfaction on their guilty heads. A new ministry of such a character, that England and America both can trust, may do great things; especially if a considerable change be made at the next general election. Why should nations meet with hostile eyes, because villains and ideots have acted like villains and ideots?

I wish for peace ardently; but must say, delightful as it is, it will come more grateful by being unexpected. The first act of violence on the part of administration in America, or the attempt to reinforce General Gage this winter or next year, will put the whole continent in arms from Nova Scotia to Georgia.

May God of his infinite mercy grant a happy event to these afflicting agitations.

Your friend,

JOHN DICKINSON.

It is suspected here that a design is regularly prosecuted by the ministry, to make his majesty dethrone himself, by the calamities and convulsions his reign is likely to bring on his whole people. Please to inform me what is thought on this point in England."

" April 29th, 1775.

Dear Sir,—The '*immedicabile vulnus*' is at length struck. The rescript to our petition is written in blood. The impious war of tyranny against inno-

cence, has commenced in the neighbourhood of Boston.

We have not yet received any authentic accounts, but I will briefly mention the most material parts of the relations that have reached us.

Gen. Gage having lately received despatches from England, gave orders on Saturday the 15th of this month, that the grenadiers and light-infantry should be excused from duty until further orders. Some of the inhabitants of the town being alarmed by this circumstance, observed between 10 and 11 o'clock on Tuesday night following, those bodies to be moving with great silence towards that water which is usually crossed in going to Cambridge. Notice of this movement was immediately conveyed into the country. The troops mentioned embarked in boats, and landed at Cambridge about four or five miles from Boston. From thence they marched on Wednesday the 19th in the morning, to Lexington, about twelve miles from Boston. At this place they found some provincials exercising. The commander of the party ordered them to disperse. They did not. One of them said he was on his own ground; that they injured no person, and could not hurt any one, for they had no ammunition with them. The word was given, and the brave Britons, emulating no doubt the glorious achievements of their ancestors, gallantly gave fire upon those who were exercising, killed some, and put the rest to flight. This victory was gained by the grenadiers and light-infantry, without the assistance of any other corps, though their numbers it is said did not exceed a thousand, and the provincials amounted to at least, as it is reported, twenty-five or thirty men!

From Lexington the victors pursued their march to Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, where

they destroyed a small magazine, and set fire to the court house. By this time two or three hundred of the inhabitants were collected, and an engagement began. The troops soon retreated, and lost two pieces of cannon which they had seized.

General Gage receiving intelligence of this engagement, or of the murder at Lexington, between eight and nine o'clock on Wednesday morning sent out a brigade under the command of Lord Percy, consisting of the marines, the Welsh fusiliers, the 4th, 38th, and 47th regiments, with two field-pieces. The grenadiers and light infantry, still retreating, met his lordship advancing to their relief; but the place of meeting is uncertain, supposed to be about five or six miles from Boston. The numbers of the country people being also now increased, a very warm contest ensued. The provincials fought as desperate men. The regulars bore the attack awhile, still retreating, but at length broke, and retired in the utmost confusion to a hill called Bunker's hill, not far from Charlestown, which place is situated opposite Boston, on the other side of Charles River. About a mile from the hill, one vessel of war, if not more, was stationed to cover the retreat into Charlestown down to the water side, in order to pass over to Boston. In the retreat of this one mile, it is said the regulars lost twelve officers and 200 privates. The provincials, afraid of the shipping's firing on Charlestown, and of hurting the town's people, stopped the pursuit.

On the whole, the accounts say, the regulars had about 500 men killed, and many are wounded and prisoners. The advices by several expresses are positive that Lord Percy is killed, which gives great and general grief here, and also General Haldimand, the two first in command ; that a wagon loaded with powder and ball, another with provisions, and the field pieces attending the reinforcement are taken. It is

added that a party of 300 sent out to Marshfield, are cut off and taken to a man. Several letters from Boston mention that the officers returned there, several of whom are wounded, declare they never were in hotter service. The whole of the fight lasted about seven hours. Part of it was seen from the hill in Boston.

I cannot say I am convinced of the truth of all the particulars above-mentioned, though some of them are supported by many probabilities. But these facts I believe you may depend on,—That this most unnatural and inexpressibly cruel war began with the butchery of the unarmed Americans at Lexington; that the provincials, incredible as it may be at St. James or St. Stephens, fought bravely; that the regulars have been defeated with considerable slaughter, though they behaved resolutely; that a tory dare not open his mouth against the cause of America, even at New-York; that the continent is preparing most assiduously for a vigorous resistance; and that freedom or an honourable death are the only objects on which their souls are at present employed.

What human policy can divine the prudence of precipitating us into these shocking scenes? Why have we rashly been declared rebels? Why have directions been sent to disarm us? Why orders to commence hostilities? Why was not Gen. Gage at least restrained from hostilities until the sense of another congress could be collected? It was the determined resolution of some, already appointed delegates for it, to have strained every nerve at that meeting to attempt bringing the unhappy dispute to terms of accommodation, safe for the colonies, and honourable and advantageous for our mother country, in whose prosperity and glory our hearts take as large a share as any minister's of state, and from as just and as generous motives, to say no more of them.

But what topics of reconciliation are now left for men who think as I do, to address our countrymen? To recommend reverence for the monarch, or affection for the mother country? Will the distinctions between the prince and his ministers, between the people and their representatives, wipe out the stain of blood? Or have we the slightest reason to hope that those ministers and representatives will not be supported throughout the tragedy, as they have been through the first act? No. While we revere and love our mother country, her sword is opening our veins. The same delusions will still prevail, till France and Spain, if not other powers, long jealous of Britain's force and fame, will fall upon her, embarrassed with an exhausting civil war, and crush or at least depress her; then turn their arms on these provinces, which must submit to wear their chains or wade through seas of blood to a dear-bought and at best a frequently convulsed and precarious independence.

All the ministerial intelligence concerning us is false. We are a united, resolved people; are, or quickly shall be, well armed and disciplined; our smith's and powder-mills are at work day and night; our supplies from foreign parts continually arriving. Good officers, that is, well-experienced ones, we shall soon have, and the navy of Great Britain cannot stop our whole trade. Our towns are but brick and stone, and mortar and wood. They, perhaps, may be destroyed. They are only the hairs of our heads. If sheared ever so close, they will grow again. We compare them not with our rights and liberties. We worship as our fathers worshipped, not idols which our hands have made.

I am, dear sir, your sincerely affectionate friend,
JOHN DICKINSON."

"PHILADELPHIA, July 7, 1775.

Dear Sir,—The enclosed will convince you how affairs stand in America.

I am, sir, your affectionate friend,

J. D.

The bearer, Dr. Hutchinson, a worthy young gentleman of this place, can give you a detail of the several engagements at Boston, &c.

As several copies of the petition are gone by this ship with errors in them, it may be proper to have the enclosed put to the press.

"NAIRHILL, July —, 1775.

Dear Sir,—Before this comes to hand you will have received, I presume, the petition to the king. You will perhaps at first be surprised that we make no *claim*, and mention no *right*. But I hope, on considering all circumstances, you will be of opinion that this humility, in an address to the throne, is at present proper.

Our rights have been already stated, our claims made; war is actually begun, and we are carrying it on vigorously. This conduct, and our other publications will show that our spirits are not lowered. If administration be desirous of stopping the effusion of British blood, the opportunity is now offered to them by an unexceptionable petition, praying for an accommodation. If they reject this application with contempt, the more humble it is the more such treatment will confirm the minds of our countrymen to endure all the misfortunes that may attend the contest.

I do not know what is thought in London of the several engagements near Boston; but this you may

be assured of, that every one of them has been favourable to us, and particularly that of Bunker's hill, on the 17th of last month, when a mere carnage was made of the royalists, though they gained our retrenchments.

I am, dear sir, your very affectionate humble servant,

J. D."

"KENT, March 30, 1780.

Sir,—On the 20th of this month I received your letter of the 19th of September last, forwarded by Mr. Lovell, in which you mention a former letter, written soon after your arrival in Paris, and unanswered by me. I do not recollect the receipt of that first letter; but if it came to my hands I beg you will permit the public and private distresses of that time to be the excuses for my inattention.

As to the subject of your last, I count it a sad misfortune that an apprehension of duty to my country in discharging a trust reposed in me, should compel me to act in such a manner as to give pain to a man I sincerely esteem, and to draw complaints from one I affectionately wish to oblige, and, to the utmost of my power, to honour.

Do not imagine, sir, that the ‘arts of’ your ‘enemies’ have erased from my mind those favourable sentiments I have ever entertained of you, since I have had the pleasure of your acquaintance. Your friends can witness that throughout the debates in congress relating to you, I always bore open and faithful testimony to the ability, zeal, courage, integrity, and diligence manifested by you in the support of our cause; and that, in confirmation of what I said, I mentioned your correspondence with me in very

dangerous circumstances, on points of the last importance.

They also can certify, that I more than once in congress expressed an earnest concern that the question to be voted on was so worded, that, if determined on one side, it would seem to injure you, and actually proposed an alteration of the question.

Your brother, Col. R. H. Lee, will do me the justice to acknowledge that I laid my difficulties before him prior to the decision, and desired that your friends might all unite in procuring you some other appointment than that to Spain; that, in consequence of former intelligence you had from Holland, which he mentioned to me, I proposed to him an employment there at present; and that I represented to him the impossibility, in my opinion, of supporting in congress the commission to Spain.

In mentioning these things I cannot forbear saying that it appeared plain to me that if some of those who truly loved you had not mingled too refined a policy with their affection, the vote would not have looked so severe as it does. When they perceived that some gentlemen, who thought that employing you in Spain was unadvisable, were at the same time averse to any resolution that might, though only by implication, reflect on your honour, they seemed to expect some advantage, even from the harshness of the question.

But while I thus interested myself in what concerned my friend, the conduct you object to was influenced by two reasons, that, leaving the qualities of your head and heart unimpeached, would have led me to the same conclusion if you had been my brother. These were, a coolness in the court of Versailles towards you, and the difference with Dr. Franklin. When it was considered that the connexion between the branches of the house of Bourbon

is so intimate, and that harmony between ministers who are to negotiate with them, especially on the same subject, and those most momentous ones, is so necessary, all private regards gave way to the superior force of public obligations. To wound, and mourn, falls to the lot of more than ‘Brutus.’

I am with the greatest esteem, sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN DICKINSON.”

LETTER OF EDWARD RUTLEDGE, ESQ. OF S. CAROLINA.

“ March 27th, 1787.

Dear Sir,—I was occupied by a very important cause when Jenkin last sailed; and he left us previous to my closing a letter, which I had been writing to you in answer to your obliging favour. I have received the papers to which you allude, and will write you fully on the subject as soon as I am at leisure to take any step in the business. At present almost every moment of my time is devoted to the public.

We have agreed to send deputies to the continental convention. My brother, who is truly federal, is among the number of gentlemen, none of whom I am convinced will yield to him in zeal for continental measures. We have passed a law to stop the importation of negroes, and have done sundry other good things. But it will take time to restore order; and this government in particular has been so much relaxed, that a constant attention to public business, and a perpetual eye to the returning virtue of our countrymen, are required from those who hold a place in the confidence of our citizens. And although we have been forced into some measures that are not to be

justified, and hardly excused, yet I do not despond. We are in fact better than we were.

It is said that the eastern states will not send delegates to the convention. If this be their determination, they must change it. What, although they have experienced domestic convulsions from their state conventions, can they not foresee that a restoration of their trade will afford an outlet for their restless spirits, and remove, with the poverty of their situation, an inclination to disturb the government? They of all others are more immediately interested in vesting powers in the united council. Animate them, my good sir, to a sense of their duty, and of their interest. Adieu. I write this surrounded by politicians, who call me off from a more pleasing business than that in which they are about to engage me. William Rutledge (who is not in the house) desired me when I wrote to present you with his best respects.

I am, my dear sir, as ever, yours peculiarly,
EDWARD RUTLEDGE."

ANSWER TO THE PRECEDING LETTER.

"NEW-YORK, June 7th, 1787.

My Dear Sir,—I received yours of the 27th inst. You mention receiving the papers relative to the demand of my brother William against Mr. Brailsford. I have been informed that the debts due him in South Carolina are very considerable; and therefore I hope you will be able to recover what he owes my brother on the judgment I transmitted you.

The representation of the United States in convention, is much more complete than was expected. Hitherto nothing has transpired touching their deliberations.

We are not most assuredly ripe for such a constitution (I mean a king, lords, and commons,) as would at once support the national honour, dignity, and interest. Till people are properly impressed with this, and there is a body of sufficient property and dignity to form the second estate, such a system cannot be adopted, without a convulsion too hazardous for those who love their country to incur. We must therefore I suppose, go on with a patched confederation, till time shall have matured us for something more consonant to the imperial greatness of this part of the globe. (It scarcely need be suggested to the reader that the above paragraph is ironical.—*Author.*)

I am very desirous of engaging Mr. West to exert his faculties in immortalizing the conduct of the ladies in Charleston on canvas, with their husbands and friends, when they were sent to St. Augustine. It appears to me that a conduct so noble, so virtuous, and so patriotic, as never to have been exceeded, seldom equalled, should be perpetuated by a pencil the most powerful that the present age has produced. Such is the pencil of Mr. West. You will oblige me sir, if you will give me such a description of that event, together with any anecdotes touching it, as you may think will aid the painter in expressing it well. Should Mr. West enter into the plan, such of the ladies and gentlemen as were present at that scene, and have good pictures of themselves, would perhaps take the trouble of sending them to Mr. West, in order that from the resemblance of persons the piece may be more interesting, at least for some generations. Your nephew sailed in the French packet on Sunday last, in good health and spirits. Please to make my best respects acceptable to Mrs. Rutledge.

Adieu,

ARTHUR LEE.

Edward Rutledge, Esq."

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LETTER FROM D. DULANY, JR. ESQ.

“ANNAPO利S, 1774.

Dear Sir,—I received your favour, which I made it my business to communicate to my acquaintances, who all agreed in your proposal. It would give me the highest satisfaction to continue a correspondence with you. Our town was assembled a few days ago, to consider letters sent from Boston and Philadelphia. The subject of the Boston letter was, to request the colonies to join in a non-importation and exportation scheme, as the readiest method to compel the parliament to restore them to their just rights. The Philadelphians were very cool indeed upon the application. There is a stroke of insulting pity in their answer, which I am sure will raise your indignation to the highest pitch.

We came here to the following resolves.

‘1st. That it is the opinion of the meeting that the town of Boston is now suffering in the common cause of American liberty.

2d. That the best method to redress the evils they now labour under would be, to put a total stop to imports and exports to and from Great Britain.

3d. That the association be upon oath for that purpose.

4th. That it is the opinion of this meeting that no lawyer should bring an action for any merchant in Great Britain against an inhabitant till this act be repealed.

5th. That no trade be carried on with any colony that does not come into similar resolutions.’

These are not to be obligatory till they are agreed to by a majority of the colonies and the several coun-

ties of this province. Every thing passed unanimously except the 4th resolution, which I confess I opposed, with about thirty more. It seems to me to carry with it so much injustice and partiality, that I am afraid it will give a handle to our enemies to hurt the general cause. I would have agreed to it if it had extended to merchants in this country as well as foreign merchants.

Every just, indeed every efficient measure should be taken against the British parliament in their designs to tax America; for I am convinced that if once the principle of taxing were established, property here would not be worth holding. But at the same time let us never give them an opportunity by our resolves to accuse us of injustice. I hope you will agree with me in this.

It gives me great pleasure to hear that our friend Alleyne succeeded so well in the four and a half per cent cause. I have expected to hear from him on business for some time past, his management of which I requested, but I have not had the pleasure. Present my compliments to him and inform him that I should be glad of a line from him. Remember me to your brother.

I am with great esteem, dear sir, your most humble servant,

D. DULANY, Jr.

Arthur Lee, Esq."

LETTER FROM GEORGE MASON, ESQ. OF VIRGINIA.

"PHILADELPHIA, May 21st, 1787.

Dear Sir,—I take the opportunity by Col. Carrington of returning the papers you left in my hands, when I had the pleasure of your company at Gunston Hall.

I arrived in this city on Thursday evening last, but found so few of the deputies here from the several states that I am unable to form any certain opinion on the subject of our mission. The most prevalent idea I think at present is a total change of the federal system, and instituting a great national council or parliament upon the principles of equal, proportionate representation, consisting of two branches of the legislature invested with full legislative powers upon the objects of the union; and make the state legislatures subordinate to the national by giving to the latter a negative upon all such laws as they shall judge contrary to the principles and interests of the union; to establish also a national executive, and a judiciary system with cognizance of all such matters as depend upon the laws of nations, and such other objects as the local courts of justice may be inadequate to.

I shall do myself the honour of corresponding with you from time to time, and shall be much obliged to you for your sentiments upon the important subjects that will be agitated in this convention, upon which the prosperity and safety of our country will so materially depend.

I have received your favour by Major Jackson; nothing that I have heard has yet been mentioned on this subject among the deputies now here; though I understand there are several candidates, which I am surprised at, as the office will be of so short duration, and merely honorary, or possibly introductory to something more substantial.

I am, with great esteem and regard, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G. MASON.*

Hon. Arthur Lee, Esq."

* The Author regrets the loss of the residue of the valuable letters of G. Mason.

LETTER FROM JUDGE MARSHALL.

" RICHMOND, March 5th, 1787.

Dear Sir,—Your favour of the 10th of January is now before me. I have not sent the letter you enclosed me in search of Mr. Imlay, because I am told by my brother, who is much better acquainted with him than I am, that he either now is, or will very soon be in New-York.

I have in my possession the notes you enquire for I very much fear that the conduct of some unthinking men in the western country will embroil us with Spain, unless there be some more vigorous interposition of government than we seem disposed to make. A memorial signed by some of the most respectable persons of Kentucky has lately been presented to the governor on this subject, in which the conduct of Gen. Clark, I am told is a good deal criminated. Whether the cession for a time of the navigation of the Mississippi would conduce to the interest of the western country or not, must depend on facts of which I have but little information, and therefore have never formed a decided opinion on the subject; but the people of this as well as of the Kentucky country, who seem to form no adequate ideas of the magnitude of danger while at a distance, have pronounced upon it without hesitation. Mr. Henry, whose opinions have their usual influence, has been heard to say that he would rather part with the confederation than relinquish the navigation of the Mississippi; but, as we have been '*fortiter in modo,*' I dare say we shall be '*suaviter in re,*'

I congratulate you on the prospects of re-establishing order and good government in Massachusetts. I

think their government will now stand more firmly than before the insurrection, provided some examples are made, in order to impress on the minds of the people a conviction that punishment will surely follow an attempt to subvert the laws and government of the commonwealth. Our attention is now turned entirely towards the next elections. The debtors as usual are endeavouring to come into the assembly, and as usual I fear they will succeed.

I am, dear sir, with the highest esteem, your obedient servant,

J. MARSHALL.

Hon. Arthur Lee, Esq."

LETTER FROM MR. JOHN PAGE, OF VIRGINIA.

"WILLIAMSBURG, March 12th, 1778.

Dear Sir,—My former acquaintance with you, and a knowledge of your great abilities, constantly exerted in support of your country's cause and the liberties of mankind, have long excited in me a desire of being admitted into the number of your correspondents; but the fear of interrupting your attention to the important affairs you are engaged in, has hitherto prevented me from attempting to enjoy that happiness. However, I am so selfish that I can no longer refrain from asking you to permit me to engage a part of your attention. For this interruption I will endeavour to make some amends, by writing to you the best accounts I can collect of the state of affairs in America in general, and in Virginia in particular, as often at least as the multiplicity of my public business will admit of. You will have heard long before this reaches you, that Howe is in quiet possession of Philadelphia; and that Burgoyne, with his army, is

detained at Cambridge, till the convention of Saratoga shall be ratified by the king his master.

By the unhappy error congress and the different states fall into, of raising their troops upon short enlistments, and from the wretched accommodations the clothiers and commissaries afford them when raised, we have not been able to keep our troops long enough together, to introduce among them proper discipline; nor indeed have we been able to collect one third of the men voted by congress. Whereas, had it been determined at first that they should be enlisted for the war, and had the clothiers and commissaries done their duty, and been properly assisted by the legislature and executive of each state, I have no doubt we should have had our quotas of men complete; and by this time they would have been as well disciplined as the British troops. Indeed, by this time we should have had no occasion for troops; for had we been able to produce one half of our quota in the field when Gen. Howe landed at the head of Elk, it is certain his whole army must have been cut off, if we may judge from what was done at Brandywine with one eighth part of that number; for I have been well assured that we had not an eighth part of the troops voted by congress that day in the field. We are now reduced to the necessity of draughting the militia, to fill the vacancies occasioned by the expiration of enlistments, &c. &c.; but, although this seems to be an expeditious and certain method of raising troops, it is by no means so good as that by voluntary enlistment. Numbers are dissatisfied, and others desert. However, I hope we shall have men enough in the field to bring Howe to a capitulation, or a convention at least, if he does not receive considerable reinforcements in the spring. And from the considerable importations made this winter on public account, and by private adventures, added to some late regulations of

congress, and the different states, we may expect to see our troops well clothed and armed, and in a more comfortable situation than they have ever been.

The enemy have left Virginia almost in a state of peace, ever since Dunmore was driven away, till this winter, when they began to be troublesome on the bay, and at the mouths of some of our rivers. Their frigates seem to be very shy of our galleys and batteries, and before the summer is out I hope they will be more so.

I take this opportunity sir, of informing you that you were elected a corresponding member of our Society for promoting Useful Knowledge, at one of our last meetings; which have been for some time past discontinued, the critical situation of our country engrossing the attention of all its members. However, we have made some progress in our business; having received some valuable astronomical observations, meteorological journals, and other papers, models of machines, &c. and ore; collected for completing the natural history of Virginia. Not only the arts and sciences, but manufactures and agriculture, are objects of our attention. By the next opportunity I will send you some extracts from some of our papers. The society will esteem themselves happy to receive any thing you may think proper to communicate. I have engrossed so much of your time, and intruded so much on you, that I must beg your pardon; and conclude, after desiring you to present my compliments and best wishes to your brother, his lady, and family.

I am, dear sir, your affectionate humble servant,
JOHN PAGE.

- Hon. Arthur Lee."

" WILLIAMSBURG, Aug. 16th, 1778.

Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 14th of March, with a triplicate of another, dated November the 5th, the receipt of which I acknowledged in my last, is just come to hand. I cannot refrain from congratulating you on the success of your negotiations, and on having had the glory of being thus capitally instrumental in securing the liberty and happiness of your country. Surely, never was an alliance better timed, or more honourable; and never did an ally act with more decision, activity, and vigilance, than ours has. For the treaty of alliance was scarcely concluded, before he took the most decisive measures; and such was his vigilance, activity, and vigour, that he discovered the moment we should stand in need of assistance, and sent it with such expedition, that we received it before we heard of its being intended for us; and it swept the enemy's privateers off our coast, and drove into the harbour of New-York their whole fleet, blocking it up with their whole army; and it is supposed that before this, Rhode Island is swept of its nest of pirates, and restored to its rightful owners.

Gen. Washington, with a more powerful army than he has before had, was, when we heard from him last, at the White Plains, preparing to advance upon Gen. Clinton, who was strongly posted near King's Bridge; but I suppose he will not attack him, unless a British fleet should arrive, and oblige the Count d'Es taing to quit his station; for he is playing a surer game, without any risk or trouble. Unless provisions arrive shortly, the British army must capitulate; and there is no prospect of getting any in to them, as the admiral has taken a great number of vessels bound to New-York, and among them it is said are thirteen ships from Cork, and has blocked up the remainder

of the provision fleet in New-York, which will probably fall into our hands.

Morgan's corps at the battle of Monmouth, were found to be much superior to the British grenadiers and light-infantry. This is the third time he has shown that superiority; twice before (against Burgoyne) he fairly beat them. I suppose long before this can reach you, you will have received authentic accounts of the retreat of the enemy, and their defeat on their route through the Jerseys.

Your observations on the situation of our country, and the necessity of strengthening our naval force, are very just. If my opinion had been adopted, Virginia would ere now have been very respectable on the water; but according to the plan which has been received, she is truly despicable. However, I perceive our countrymen's ideas are every day more and more enlarged, and I hope we shall do better hereafter.

By an article in the confederation, no state is to have a fleet of its own, but there is to be one for the defence of the whole, under the direction of congress; which I confess I think a wise regulation, to prevent any one state from becoming too powerful by water for the others. I think it must prevent jealousies. Without some such regulation, New-England would soon be able to give us law on the sea; and Virginia might cut off the trade of Maryland and North Carolina, whenever she pleased. However, each state may build galleys, floating batteries, &c. for the protection of its harbours and bays; so that I think no inconvenience can happen from this restraint; on the contrary, a great expense will be saved. But as it is possible this article of the confederation may not be so faithfully observed by some states, I think it would be wise to take every step which leads towards raising up seamen, and laying the foundation of a power-

ful navy. The hints you gave on this head are wise, and have been thought of; so that I hope they will be adopted.

As to the back lands you mention, there is no doubt that some of our sister states would wish to have a share in them ; but this matter is settled and secured to us, as you will see, by the confederation. The New-Englanders made no objection to this article, and they really appear to me to be *the most virtuous people on the continent.*

Several large French ships of great force have been trading with us, the merchants or supercargoes of which have imposed upon us most shamefully the *vilest* goods at the most exorbitant prices. They take great liberties, and complain even here, that they have met with hard treatment. These people seem to think that, because we are under great obligations to their court, we should pay court to them.

An unlucky affair happened here lately ; one of our soldiers, in an affray with some French sailors of the *Fiere Roderique*, shot a Frenchman through the arm, and has rendered him a cripple for life. This created great uneasiness and discontent among all the Frenchmen in this state. Government thought proper to give the poor fellow six hhds. of tobacco, as some recompense for the loss of his arm, and several gentlemen gave him money, so that the affair was hushed among the Frenchmen ; but I suspect they will make heavy complaints of it, when they have returned home. It certainly was one of those accidents which may happen any where. It must be confessed that it looked very bad here, where our officers do not speak French, and have not of course taken so much notice of the French officers as they expected.

Capt. Montou of the *Fiere Rodorique*, has promis-

ed to carry the tobacco freight-free, for the unfortunate sailor.

I am, dear sir, your most affectionate and obedient, humble servant,

JOHN PAGE.

The Hon. Arthur Lee.

P. S.—The ship Fiere Rodorique has been obliged to land fourteen most excellent eighteen-pounders, to make room for tobacco. Her officers have been so unreasonable as to ask 620 hhds. of tobacco for them; but we refused to buy them, being provoked at such a demand, when it was not in their power to carry them. We look upon them as the king's property, and would willingly purchase them, or replace the like sort and number in any of his ports or arsenals.

J. P."

LETTER FROM JAMES MADISON.

"PHILADELPHIA, May 28, 1778.

Dear Sir,—I received your favour of the 16th inst. between nine and ten o'clock last night, the post having been delayed by sickness. I shall pursue your commands with respect to the bill enclosed in it.

The arrival of the Alliance frigate at Rhode-Island, and the subsequent arrival of a French cutter at Salem, have furnished congress and the minister of France with pretty late intelligence from Europe. The latter has not yet communicated the contents of his despatches. Those from our ministers at Versailles and at the Hague inform us that British emissaries had been practising every address to each of them to feel the pulse of their constituents, and debauch them from their engagements with France. At the same

time very tempting concessions were held out to the latter for a similar purpose. Proper answers were given to each of these insidious applications. These circumstances afford a seasonable admonition to the credulous, of the wickedness of Mr. Cailton's mission. We have heard nothing from this gentleman since the refusal of a passport for his secretary to visit congress.

Mr. Adams seems to be making considerable progress in Holland towards an acknowledgment of his public character. He says the prince had declared his inability to resist the torrent in favour of a connexion with the United States.

We have received no letters from Mr. Dana very lately. If I do not forget, some have been received since you left us, which contained little more than a proof that he had not become sensible of the error which his preceding letter displayed. Despatches from Mr. Jay, transmitted by Col. Livingston, have been lost to us by the capture of this gentleman by a privateer from New-York. They were not however gained by the enemy. Col. Livingston is now here, but restrained by his parole from suggesting the contents of his despatches, or giving any other intelligence from that quarter.

I have written more fully in cypher to Mr. Randolph, on foreign subjects and some others, than time or prudence will permit me to repeat here. For what is omitted, I must therefore beg leave to refer you to him.

The reasons which recommend an interference of the assembly in the case of the Flags, do not I confess occur to me. If the goods included in the capitulation of York, were sold, and are to be paid for, it would seem that a mode of payment, which affords to Virginia a vent for her staple, and prevents the exportation of her specie, cannot be complained of by her.

The enclosed gazette contains the several obscure and contradictory advices, of the action in the West Indies, which have of late agitated our hopes and fears. The acknowledged inferiority of the fleet of our ally, gives some credulity to the articles which are in favour of the enemy. Should the event however have been ever so disastrous, it can only affect the duration of the war. The issue of it is fixed by causes which are superior to every particular event. Every triumph of the enemy on the ocean is rather a new argument to all Europe in favour of our independence ; and I am somewhat of Mr. Adams' opinion, that if America were to betray a disposition to relapse under the dominion of Great Britain, all the maritime powers would interpose to prevent it. The tyranny which they have experienced would render any alteration preferable to a re-establishment of the superiority of power which gave birth to it.

Notwithstanding the importance of the present crisis, the number of states in congress does not exceed eight, sometimes seven only, and most of these represented by only two members. The president is directed to write to the unrepresented states on the subject, and urge them to supply the deficiency. I wish much for a re-inforcement to the delegation of Virginia, and have pushed Mr. Randolph to undertake that service immediately. I calculate on your return so soon as your other undertakings will permit. In the present moment it is of consequence that every delegation should be tolerably full, as well as every state represented.

With great respect and regard, I am, dear sir, yours,
&c.

J. MADISON, Jr.

The Hon. Arthur Lee, Esq."

"PHILADELPHIA, May, 1778.

Dear Sir,—The letter enclosed herewith came to my hands from the eastern port. I forward it, not knowing how far its contents may interest you.

The parliamentary intelligence published in the gazette of this morning, shows that some revolution in the councils of the legislative branch has taken place, which will probably have some effect on those of the executive.

But as the delusive idea of a federal, if not a political connexion with this country, founded on the ruins of its connexion with France, still pervade their policy, no conclusion whatever can be drawn from it, that will justify the smallest relaxation in our public measures. The efficacy of conciliatory overtures seems to be as foolishly and obstinately persisted in by one party, as that of military coercion has been by the other; and if the former should be indulged in their favourite experiment, it is more probable that their disappointment and vexation will make them converts to the views of the latter, than that both parties will lay aside their prejudices, and embrace the terms we hold out to them.

A letter from Mr. Jay and two from Mr. Carmichael were received yesterday. They all speak the same language with that received from the former, a little before you left us. The success of the Spanish arms at Minorca will, we are told, be followed by redoubled efforts against Gibraltar.

We have several times repeated our wish for an order on the western cessions, and have in every instance experienced a repetition of the same indecent obstructions and evasions of which you were a witness, and which nothing will explain but the cause to which we have from the beginning imputed them.

It will neither be consistent with the respect we owe to our own public character, nor with the dignity of those we serve, to persist longer in fruitless applications to congress for an answer. We shall therefore wind up the business as well as we can in a few days, and transmit a statement of it for the general assembly, who will certainly be fully justified in taking any course with respect to their western claims, which the interest of the state shall prescribe.

I am, dear sir, your sincere friend and humble servant,

J. MADISON, Jr.

The Hon. A. Lee, Esq."

LETTER FROM COL. BLAND.

"RICHMOND, Nov. 20th, 1786.

Dear Arthur,—As you surmised, your agreeable favour of the 16th of October met me just at the opening of our political campaign. The perusal of it afforded me much pleasure, although it wanted the addition which you had so kindly intended, of bringing me acquainted with the bearer, the son of the new Bath guide, whose acquaintance (if he inherits the spirit, genius, and imagination of his father) must bring no small addition to the pleasure of any one not destitute of ideas. I made strict enquiry after him, but as I could hear nothing of him, suppose he pursued his route immediately to Charlestown, as did Gen. Duplessis, whom you formerly recommended to me. Should either of these gentlemen return this way, (and give me the opportunity) it will afford me singular pleasure to fulfil your wish of showing them every civility in my power, as your friends; as it is, I

must be content in their having proved the vehicles of two letters from you, and in accompanying them with my best wishes.

Mrs. Bland was with me in Richmond when I was favoured with your letter, and returns you her thanks for your splendid compliments. She saw a few plays, and returned to her domestic scenes. Your flattering compliment to my tawny sister I communicated to her spouse, and before this time I suppose she has got it, dressed up in the most agreeable manner by his poetical imagination. Thus you see I have not been a mere passive recipient of your great behests.

Now for politics ; if I can extract from the chaos of our business any thing worthy of your notice, it is more than I expect. However, *currente calamo*, I will go on. First, then, on Mr. Henry's signifying his desire to resign the reins of government, Mr. Attorney G., your brother, and your humble servant, were nominated for the first magistracy. The *heat was hollow*, the attorney distanced the field. Thus are you deprived of seeing your friend in Sancho's situation, ***** and your brother translated from the head of an empire to the head of one of its members. I had forgot to tell you that I was previously to this nominated to preside over our *august* assembly, *nolens volens*, and on a ballot was found to be second best. The honour of this discomfiture was no small thing, when it was considered that the majority was but small for Mr. Prentis, and that it was my first exhibition in our assembly ; but, as if fortune was disposed to make sport of me, and gilt me with all her powers of *giltation*, my friends again nominated me to serve in congress. Here I experienced how fickle was the maid who has raised up and put down so many empires, kingdoms, states, princes, ministers, and heroes. She left me in the lurch ; and behold your humble servant and old friend is at this moment

writing to you in the plain garb of a simple assemblyman, without one of those titles which but a few days since, glittered around his head.

* * * * *

I moved early in the session, as a groundwork to bring about some reformation in the system of finances, that the state of the debts and revenue should be laid before the house, which was followed by a motion of — that a committee should be appointed to enquire minutely into the state of public debts, taxes, &c., and devise some system of finance by which the people might be relieved, and the public faith secured, and placed on a firm basis. This committee have been sitting above a month, and have made some steps to come at the grand object, but nothing is yet matured. I am in hopes it will produce something useful, if it only evince some control over the public affairs, and show the people that we mean to be honest. I fear we shall find an Augean stable. The assembly has repealed by a very large majority the pernicious and detestable doctrine of paper money, and *unanimously*. By a petition, which was said to be framed by the Lord of Green Spring, for reducing the military certificates by a scale, an attempt has been made by the house, similar to what Falstaff requests his friend Hal to do, ‘rob me the Exchequer,’ which has hitherto failed. Thus do I begin to hope that public faith will be held somewhat more sacred ; when a motion for paying the delegates out of any money in the treasury, whether appropriated or not, will not go down.

I cannot agree with you on the policy of Spain or the eastern states, to relinquish to Spain the navigation of the Mississippi, even for a moment. It is a right which we have confirmed to us by treaty. It is a right which nature has given us. It is a right which nature will claim. It is a right which it is impossible

in Spain to attempt to deprive us of, and in the attempt she has shown that she considered it a right. Why else should she endeavour to barter another privilege for it? Will not Spain, suppose we should accede to her proposal, bend her whole force to fortify herself against a recovery of it? She has already troops, fleet, and treasure; what have we to oppose to such powerful engines? She has a united monarchy; we a divided republic, slow in its operations, jarring in its interests, but powerful when oppressed. Have you not mistaken the effect of the *exclusion*? I rather think that could it be carried into execution it would stifle the germ of agriculture and improvement. To what end improve a soil whose products would remain on the hands of the husbandman, a useless lumber. To what end promote population, where the labours of the people would end in sorrow and poverty. But has not experience proved in all ages that manufacturers could not be supported without commerce? And that where land abounds and a rich soil invites, manufactures cannot flourish? Have they flourished even in the oldest states, where this has been the case? At this day is a pin or a needle made in the United States? And, except in the largest towns, are even the most necessary implements of husbandry manufactured to advantage.

That Kentucky will send colonies to the Muscle Shoals, I verily believe; and that they in their turn will people the *Natchez*, is not less probable. Nor will it be in the power of man to prevent it, much less Spain, unless the species cease to propagate, or the emigrants should become savages, neither of which is likely to happen. But after all where is the mighty boon of being with Spain on the footing of the *most favoured nation*? What favour does Spain grant to any nation in commerce, that is an object to any but a manufacturing one? Are we so? I think

not. The sale of fish would indeed be an object with the eastern states, and I think I can clearly see that that, together with their apprehensions of being weakened by emigration, would lead them into the measure with Spain, which would be to us an evil of the first magnitude. New-York too might reap advantages by the produce of the western country going to the lakes by some of the branches of the Ohio, and thence being transported, after a small land carriage, down the Hudson. Pennsylvania might hope for a share of this commerce by the Susquehannah, and bounded as she is, she might expect with the eastern states, to stop the emigration. Perhaps she might be tempted a little, by the casual sale of her flour, to some of the Spanish islands. On the whole, I conceive the policy to be erroneous in us to consent to the exclusion. These are my rough sentiments, and such as they are, they are my own, having never been warped or biassed by consultation on the subject, with those immediately or remotely interested in the event.

Be assured that Spain will be cautious of entering into a war with us on that account. The other branch of the house of Bourbon will be more cautious of supporting her in such a war, and England would be ready to retaliate, by favouring a dismemberment of the Spanish territories in America from her powerful rival, exclusive of the tempting commerce such a dismemberment might offer to that commercial and ambitious nation. Holland could not withstand the temptations of so rich a traffic.

I believe, my friend, you are by this time tired of my politics, and as it is past eleven, I will bid you adieu; and believe me that, though we may differ in political opinions, there is no one entertains a more cordial and sincere regard for you than your old friend,

THEOD. BLAND."

N. B.—First thoughts on so extensive a subject as the Mississippi navigation, and its consequences, must unavoidably be but conjecture. What an infinite field has the revolution opened for speculative opinions on the political systems of nations and commerce, perhaps wars. I forgot to mention above, that Great Britain had also reserved in the treaty the right to the navigation of the Mississippi. So that all your supposed disadvantage, arising from commerce, will follow from that cause. And Spain and Britain will divide between them, a commerce from which we shall preclude ourselves. Adieu.”

“ RICHMOND, June 13th, 1788.

Dear Arthur,—I was yesterday favoured with yours, and assure you I am in doubt whether the pleasure or the pain on the subject of your congratulation, affects me at this time most heavily. On the one hand I see my country on the point of embarking and launching into a troubled ocean, without chart or compass to direct her; one half of her crew hoisting sail for the land of *energy*, and the other looking with a longing aspect on the shore of *liberty*. I have but one ray of hope, and that arises from an observation that they are yet in perfectly good humour with each other. I have as yet sat as a speechless spectator, nor shall I be induced to alter that character, but as a mediator, and with a view of concentrating the two parties, now (after twelve days' session) almost equally divided; each side boasting by turns of a majority of from three to eight, on the general question, of adopting or rejecting; although I really at this time think there is a decided majority for anterior amendments, that is, who do not think it prudent to mount a high-blooded, fiery

steed, without a bridle. The amendments which will be proposed will contain simple propositions, guarding the rights of the states from the encroachments of ***** and state factions in the general government, and almost literally corresponding with those suggested by Massachusetts, Carolina, and the main points of the committee of Maryland. The strongest efforts are made here to inculcate the absolute necessity of posterior amendments, or unconditional submission, for fear of losing, as it is called, the government; and strong dispositions are shown to precipitate the convention into that measure; but hitherto the fear of miscarrying altogether, has restrained the gentlemen on the side of the new constitution. I have no doubt of their bringing forward the proposition, whenever they may think themselves strong enough. On the other hand, we have declared pretty openly our advances to them, which have had considerable weight with the wavering, and have drawn many doubtful minds to our side of the question. We object not against any powers which shall not be hurtful. That the government shall want no aids for its own support or execution, provided that such restraints shall be imposed upon it, as shall support and ensure the state privileges, and the liberty of the individual against oppression.

We have yet proceeded no farther in the discussion than the article of direct taxation, on which point they have collected all their force; and I think they have left hitherto the advantage considerably on our side. The general, and I may say, diffuse discussion, may go on probably another week, perhaps not so long, and then it is proposed to argue it paragraph by paragraph. The issue will depend greatly on management on both sides, and mere fortuitous events, as in all cases where forces are nearly equal.

There has been a duel here between ***** and *****, on the eve of an election. ***** is dangerously wounded. Neither of them is in the convention. I mention this, to show you that the heats have not yet entered that body, although the thunders roll, and the lightnings flash every day, both in the natural and political atmosphere. Our chief-magistrate has at length taken his party, and appears to be reprobated by the honest of both sides; but this is too precious a morsel to be left out. Although lukewarm, he has openly declared for anterior amendment; or in other words, unconditional submission.

I am quite sick, and therefore obliged to conclude sooner than I had intended.

Your friend, &c. &c.

T. BLAND."

FROM MR. JEFFERSON.

" PARIS, March 11th, 1789

Dear Sir,—I had wished to acknowledge the receipt of your favours of Jan. 19, and Feb. 3, by a private conveyance; but none such having occurred, nor being likely to occur, I must write you such a letter as may go through the inspection of both post-offices.

The affairs of this country are still going on well; there are loud contestations indeed in one or two of the provinces, and in Brittany these have come to blows, and some three or four people have been killed. Still the opposition to the revolution which is working, has been miraculously small; and he who would predict its failure from the little obstacles which have happened, would be about as good a prophet as he

who from the loss of two or three little skirmishes on our part, would have foretold our final failure in the American revolution. All the world here is occupied in electioneering, in choosing, or being chosen; and as far as Paris may be considered as affording a specimen of the public mind, we may say it is almost thoroughly ripe for a just decision of the great question, of voting by orders or by persons. The difficulties which now appear threatening, to my mind, are those which will result from the size of the assembly. Twelve hundred persons of any rank and of any nation assembled together, would with difficulty be restrained from tumult and confusion; but when they are to compose an assembly for which no rules of debate or proceeding have been yet formed, in whom no habits of order have yet been established, and to consist moreover of Frenchmen, among whom there are always more speakers than listeners, I confess to you I apprehend some danger. However, I still hope that the good sense of the body, and the coolness and collectedness of some of their leaders, will keep them in the right way, and that this great assembly will end happily.

The war in the north will I think continue, and perhaps spread as far as Prussia. The present and probable situation of the executive in England, will I presume prevent their engaging, otherwise than by giving money. If so, this country will certainly not engage herself the present year; and after this year, if her States General pass over well, she will be in a condition to do what she pleases. I have lately received a letter from Admiral Paul Jones, dated at Petersburg the last of January; he was just arrived there, at the call of the empress, and uninformed where he was to act the ensuing campaign. We have no news from America later than the 10th of January, when things were going on well. I find that the friends of

the new constitution are generally disposed to make such changes as may be requisite to guard liberty. This will probably reconcile the bulk of the opposition. Nothing could be more agreeable to me, than your company on our voyage to Virginia; and I am sorry I am unable to form such an idea of the epoch of it, as might enable you to decide whether it suited you. Gouverneur Morris, who is now here, informs me that there was no congress when he came away; but none was expected until the new government. My letters, asking leave of absence, were not then arrived, and consequently I cannot have that leave but from the new government; nor even expect that they will take it up among their first subjects. This renders the time of my receiving permission uncertain; and should it be so late that I cannot go, do my business there, and return in the fall, I shall prefer postponing my departure hence until the fall, so that I may return in the spring; being quite decided against a winter passage. You see therefore, my dear sir, the impossibility of my fixing the epoch of my departure. Pray continue to me during your stay, your interesting political information; and accept assurances of the esteem and respect, with which I am, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

*To Mr. Shippens.***

* This interesting letter was written to a Mr. Shippens, who was a favourite nephew of Mr. Lee. Finding it among Mr. Lee's MSS. the author has inserted it.

APPENDIX IX.

Letters to Arthur Lee, from many of his Correspondents in Europe and Great Britain. (Many of his MSS. of this kind have been lost.)

LETTERS FROM SIR WILLIAM JONES.

“ TEMPLE, June 29th, 1778.

My Dear Sir,—I would have answered your kind letter long before this, if I had not been expecting from term to term, that the case of John _____* would be argued in Westminster Hall; and I wished to send you a report of the arguments at the bar, and on the bench. The case is I apprehend now dropped, as I have heard nothing of it since the last consultation. I thank you for your hints on the subject, and am happy that our opinions so exactly coincide. How deeply I was afflicted with poor Alleyne's death, you who know my regard for him will easily imagine. Paradise is much dejected at the loss of his estate; at least at the suspension of his rents. I wish he was in Virginia; but you know how incapable he is, with all his good qualities, of stirring for himself in active life.

* The word illegible.

I go on here to my satisfaction ; I mean in my profession. * * * * * * * * * * I am in a chancery cause, in which some points of French law will arise, and one or two of the witnesses reside in France. The property in dispute is considerable. It is possible that this business will bring me to Paris in September or October. Shall you be there at that time ? If you are, let me hope to have access to you. I have much to tell you about some old acquaintance. I should like to be in a little private lodging, where I may spend a week or fortnight, unknown to all, except a few friends.

No news but what is very public, and which you must know by this time.

I am, my dear sir, with great truth, your faithful friend,

WILLIAM JONES.

A Monsieur, Monsieur Arthur Lee, A Paris."

" CHRISNA NAGAR, BENGAL, Sept. 28th, 1788.

My Dear Sir,—I am just escaped from Calcutta to my cottage, about a hundred miles from it, where I can repose but a few days, after a degree of judicial labour, of which an English bar can afford no example. We have been sitting seven hours a day, sometimes whole nights, for three months together; and that without any assistance from juries, except in criminal cases. The length of our sittings has left us hardly any vacation ; and I have so large an arrear of letters for the ships of the season, that I must divide my mornings between all my friends, and write concisely to each, with a promise of longer letters the next season.

The interesting picture you give of your country, has both light and shade in it; but though some rocks and thickets appear to obstruct the foreground, I see the distant prospect brighten, and have a sanguine hope that I shall live to admire your constitution, in all the blaze of true liberty and universal justice. If young Englishmen had any English spirit, they would finish their education by visiting the United States, instead of fluttering about Italy; and strive to learn rather political wisdom from republicans, than to pick up a few superficial notions of the fine arts, from the poor thralls of bigotry and superstition. If I live, I seriously intend to make the tour of your states, before I retire to my Sabine farm; and my wife, who is much better than when I wrote last, often speaks of the scheme with delight.

I have read the original of Halheld's book, which is not properly a code, but a short compendium or digest, compiled about ten or twelve years ago by eleven Brahmans, of whom only five are now living. The version was made by Halheld from the Persian, and that by a Musselman writer from the Bengal dialect, in which one of the Brahmans (the same who has corrected my Sanscrit copy) explained it to him. A translation in the third degree from the original, must be, as you will easily imagine, very erroneous. The texts quoted in the original are ascribed to the Gods; that is, they are of indefinite antiquity; but I cannot believe any of them to be more than three thousand years old. I am superintending a new work of the same kind, but more extensive, on the plan of Justinian's Digest, which some of the most learned of the native lawyers are compiling; they are stimulated to diligence by handsome monthly salaries. I shall not, if my health continues firm, think of leaving Asia, until I see the completion of a work, which will be the standard of justice among ten millions of men;

and will, I trust, secure their inheritable property to their descendants.

The last phrase brings to my mind the effects of poor Mr. Steptoe; concerning which my agent at Calcutta, and the registrar of the court, will make diligent enquiries; and the result of their enquiries I will take care to communicate in a postscript.

Give my kind remembrance to your brother, and Mr. Izard, when you happen to see them. I fear you are still disunited from Franklin; a disunion which I ever lamented, and must lament. I shall be impatient to know the resolutions of the general convention; they will be dictated I am sure by humanity and virtue, but experience only can make your constitution perfect.

I am, dear sir, your affectionate and faithful servant,

W. JONES.

To the Hon. Arthur Lee, North America."

LETTERS FROM THE EARL OF BUCHAN.

" WALCOT, near BATH, Oct. 31st, 1769.

My Dear Sir,—I should be very happy to be entrusted with the welfare of Virginia, and am sure I should pass my time most agreeably among you; but I am afraid I love you too well to have that charge committed to me at present, after what has past; not that I think any plan is to be adopted of a disagreeable tendency, but that my avowed sentiments with regard to my countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic, might be thought too favourable to certain demands which might be made. There remains another obstacle, which is, that my father, I am sorry

to say, is in a very precarious state of health, and it would seem odd for an earl, according to the ideas of this country, to be deputy to Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

I told you I had my eye on Turin, but I had much rather be with you, I assure you; and if any opening should happen, by the death or resignation of Faquier, I do not know but that I may make an essay to your satisfaction.

In the mean time I feel very happy in having one there so very partial to me as you are; and who will never mention my name without saying, that I am a friend to liberty, and to the friendless.

I am ever, dear sir, with great esteem, your most obliged and obedient servant,

CARDROSS.*

Arthur Lee, Esq., Virginia.

P. S.—Governor Dinwiddie asks after you with regard. He is not well at present.

Pray remember the museum at Edinburg, which I espouse at present, and send me some of your country productions.”

“ EDINBURG, Jan. 5th, 1775.

Dear Sir,—Mrs. Macauley was so obliging as to hand me accounts of your health some time ago, in answer to enquiries I had made about my old and very much respected acquaintance.

Your steady adherence to the good old cause, to which you was devoted in the youthful season of life when I saw you last at London, gives me great satisfaction. Its true friends are but a little flock, and a

* He was afterwards Earl Buchan.

shepherd is much wanted ; corruption has pervaded the minutest ramifications of the political system, and the wisest and best of men are afraid to take the lead.

I have for a long time had views of becoming a vassal of my kinsman Fairfax, on the banks of the Potomack. I should be much obliged to you for information relating to his unsettled tracts, and the circumstances to be attended to in such speculations.

I have made many enquiries, but I would wish to have your opinion on this head ; and in case I come to any formed resolutions, to be my entrepôt of correspondence with my friends in that country, and my kinsman in particular.

I am, dear sir, your obliged humble servant,
BUCHAN.

Arthur Lee, Esq., London."

LETTERS OF DR. RICHARD PRICE.

" NEWINGTON, June 15th, 1777.

Dear Sir,—Accept my best thanks for the kind and obliging letter with which you have favoured me. It gave me indeed great pleasure, and I am particularly happy in the approbation you express of my late publication. I have drawn upon myself a torrent of opposition and abuse ; but the satisfaction I feel in the consciousness of having endeavoured to promote the cause of liberty and justice, makes me abundant amends. Having done the little in my power, I have taken my leave of politics ; and am now in the situation of a silent spectator, waiting with inexpressible

anxiety, the issue of one of the most important struggles that ever took place among mankind.

Your letter has been communicated to the persons you mention at the conclusion of it. They are all well, but are now out of town. I know you have a great share of their particular regard. We are much in the dark here; and I am continually longing for some method of coming at truth, amidst the numberless stories which are circulated here, and the mutilated accounts given out by the ministry. I should be much more large and explicit in answering your letter, were I not obliged to be very cautious. You will I doubt not consider this, and make allowances for me.

Under a grateful sense of your remembrance of me, and with sentiments of warm and affectionate respect, I am, dear sir, your very obliging, humble servant,

RICHARD PRICE.

Arthur Lee, Esq. Paris."

" NEWINGTON GREEN, Feb. 4th, 1787.

Dear Sir,—I am truly ashamed when I think that your last letter has been so long unnoticed by me. The true reason has been slowness of disposition and bad spirits, united to a multiplicity of engagements, and particularly an extensive correspondence, to which it is not in my power to be properly attentive. But I will make no further apologies. There are few to whom I desire more to show my respect than to you. I think with gratitude of the acquaintance with which you honoured me in this country; and I wish you all possible happiness, and particularly that which must arise from the satisfaction of seeing those United States, of which you are so important a member, prosperous and happy. They are, I find, struggling

with some difficulties, and they have points of great consequence to settle. May heaven, for the sake of mankind, give them wisdom to manage properly the vast trust committed to them. Your ability and integrity will contribute much to this end.

I am grieved when I think of the policy of this country towards the United States. Our present minister, when first brought forward by our friend, the Marquis of Lansdown, concurred with him in beginning a plan, which, had it been carried into execution, would probably have produced a family friendship and union between this country and yours, from which we might have derived greater advantages than from your dependence. But as far as your interests are concerned, I believe things may be best as they are. You are now forced to check your rage for foreign trade, and to see that your greatest happiness consists in avoiding luxury, in simple manners, and in that best kind of opulence and independence, which arise from the plenty produced by agriculture, from finding your resources within yourselves, and in a well-guarded internal liberty.

In Europe, establishments and abuses which have acquired sacredness from time, obstruct all attempts to bring about reformations and improvements, and render them impracticable without producing tumults and convulsions. You are upon open and free ground. The advantages of your situation are such as have scarcely ever before been known among mankind, and I rejoice to find that in several instances they have been improved. I have, in particular, been delighted with the act passed last year, by the Virginia legislature, for establishing religious freedom. It has been circulated here and in Ireland, with an introduction which I wrote to it, and I fancy not without some effect. I have enclosed one of the papers.

Mr. Adams has just published here a *Defence of the American Constitution*. I am not sorry that I have given occasion to this publication by inserting in my pamphlet on the American revolution the letter of Mons. Turgot to me. I wish I had added a note to express my disapprobation of the sentiment, in the passage to which Mr. Adams has with so much reason objected. His book will probably be much read in America as well as here. There is much information in it on the subject of government, and he has fully convinced me of the point it was his chief intention to prove.

The Marquis of Lansdown is well; but I see no probability of his return to power. I told him I was writing to you, and his reply was that *he* also would write to you by Dr. White. Col. Barré, you know, is almost blind. A ball, which never could be extracted, was shot into one of his eyes in the war before the last, and he has now almost lost the sight of the other eye, but he bears his calamity with much resignation.

The dissenters are going to apply with vigour to parliament, for the repeal of the corporation and test acts, and the more liberal part of us are now establishing at Hackney, at a great expense, a new college for education, which I hope will be productive of great good.

Excuse, dear sir, some haste, and accept my best wishes. I have been lately thrown into a state of inexpressible grief, by the death of my wife, and my spirits have been sadly shocked.

Hoping for your candour with respect to what I have now scribbled, I am, with great regard, your obedient and humble servant,

RICHARD PRICE."

[NOTE.] The following anecdote is authentic. Many persons, who opposed the policy of the administration of John Adams, charged him with being in

" HACKNEY, March 24, 1788.

Dear Sir,—I know not how sufficiently to thank you for the agreeable and obliging letter which I received from you some time ago. I communicated it, in conformity to your desire, to the Marquis of Lansdown, and Col. Barré. The latter is now almost totally blind, but at the same time resigned and cheerful. The former is well and exceedingly happy in the satisfaction he receives from seeing his son, (the Earl of Wycombe) so promising and well disposed as he is. Both have lately been warmly engaged in opposing a bill for enlarging the powers of a board of control, appointed by the king for governing *India*, which is reckoned almost as dangerous to our constitution as that bill, in 1783, which, because it lodged this power not in the king, but in an aristocracy, that created a kind of fourth estate in the kingdom, was the means of throwing Mr. Fox and the coalition out of power. But in the present instance, opposition has been unsuccessful, and I am afraid it will al-

principle a monarchist. Some charged him with being an *aristocrat*. They founded their different charges upon principles, which, *they said*, were contained in the book here spoken of; a book which *Dr. Price* declares had convinced him of the point Mr. Adams had written this book to demonstrate, viz. the superiority, in theory and operation, of *republican governments* over *monarchical governments*. Mr. Arthur Lee, while these charges, unfounded as they were, were circulated, was invited to dine with Patrick Henry and other distinguished contemporaries. During the conversation the subject of Mr. Adams's book was introduced by Mr. Henry's addressing Mr. Lee thus, "I hear that our old friend, John Adams, has abandoned his republican principles, and has advocated monarchical principles in his book." Mr. Lee answered, "You hear what is *not true*; have you, my dear sir, read his book?" Mr. Henry replied, "No, I am too old now to read *books*; I must read *men*." A gentleman then observed, "that he had not read the book, but he had been told that the young law students, at the college of William and Mary, had read it, and were indignant at the aristocratical and monarchical principles of it." Mr. Henry exclaimed, "honest boys, honest boys;" upon which Mr. Lee turning towards him and fixing upon him his radiant eye, observed, with a manner which all felt, "Yes, Sir, they are *but boys*." The charges of monarchy, &c. were not again repeated during the conversation.

ways be so, when it contradicts the views of the crown, in consequence of the miserable inadequateness of our representation. I hope you will do better in America. I must own to you that the new federal constitution in its principal articles meets my ideas, and that I wish it may be adopted.

This letter is to be conveyed to you by Col. Smith. and it is with regret I part with him and Mr. Adams. I admire their abilities and character, and cannot help deplored that wretched policy of this country which occasions their recall. How wonderful it is, that our ministers, after spending a hundred millions of money, and shedding torrents of blood in keeping America, should now think it best to throw it from them! One of the reasons for their conduct has been that congress being a mere shadow, there is no power in the United States with which an alliance can be formed, that can be of any validity or use ; and as a proof of this they have urged the inability of congress to preserve even the treaty of peace from being violated. This is an objection, which I hope will now be soon removed. But I must not enter into this subject. Being pressed by more engagements than a person so slow and so easily encumbered as myself, can properly attend to, I hope you will excuse haste and brevity.

My chief view in writing is to beg the continuance of your favourable remembrance of me, and to show you I am under a grateful sense of your civilities, and with all the best wishes, I am your very obedient servant,

RICHARD PRICE."

LETTERS OF LORD SHELBURNE.

"Bow-Wood Park, Wednesday morning, 1769.

Dear Mr. Lee,—I took the liberty of communicating your letter to Mr. Dunning, who says he proposes staying at Bath only for a moment, but that he will endeavour to see you and give you his opinion on the subject.

Whenever you have a mind to leave the crowded society of Bath for the retirement of Bow-Wood, you will find our society much reduced, and very happy in the addition of your company.

I am, with great regard, very sincerely yours,
SHELBURNE.

Arthur Lee, Esq. Bath."

"Bow-Wood Park, July 31st, 1775.

Dear Sir,—I am to thank you for your obliging letters, the last received this morning. I never imagined that public affairs would have affected me as much as they have done since the affair at Lexington. A man of common attention cannot avoid feeling every passion agitated and distracted. I am very clear, from Gen. Gage's letter, that the troops have suffered a signal defeat, and that the arms of England have lost a lustre, which I see no probability of their regaining during the present contest. There is besides a cloud which hangs upon the general's account, and betrays a most alarming situation of things, while the conduct of the provincials, through all the mist, under the command, it would seem, of nobody, mani-

fested a decisive superiority in every point of military judgment.

In my life I was never more pleased with a state paper than I have been this morning with the assembly of Virginia's discussion of Lord North's proposition. It is masterly.

By the papers as well as the run of private accounts, I see very plainly that whoever governs us is determined to proceed ; and that as long as the stock-holders keep from ruin, the nation is to run every risk to keep the rewards of Sir R. Walpole and Mr. Fox upon Mr. Jenkinson. How long this torpor will continue it is impossible to say, nor do I consider with any pleasure upon whom the storm will or ought to burst ; but what I fear is, that the evil is irrecoverable. Union itself will be too late.

I set out for Ireland on Thursday, and private business obliges me to return early in October. As to public business, I despond. Personal jealousy and disunion infect and destroy the weight of both individuals, and bodies of men. The only uncorrupt body of men remaining in the city of London, I see daily losing its weight, for want of proper direction and joint effort.

I am, with great truth and regard, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

Li

SHELBOURNE.

To Arthur Lee, London."

"LONDON, Feb. 1st, 1777.

Dear Sir,—I have been under great impatience for an opportunity of acknowledging the honour of your letter of the 3d of January. I was desirous of conveying to you my own best wishes, and those of many of your friends, for your welfare and happiness.

I was anxious to acknowledge and do justice to those years of uninterrupted friendship with which you have honoured me, and to the unabating spirit of perseverance which you have always shown in support of law and liberty, in times the most disgusting and dispiriting.

I am heartily sorry that I can make you no better return than such an empty testimony.

The college are particularly obliged by your letter. For half a dozen years to come, if you return to this country, you will find their course much the same ; their principles I hope, of far longer duration.

I request you to make my kindest and most respectful compliments to Dr. Franklin. I beg to be regardfully remembered to Mr. Deane.

I am, with unalterable regard, dear sir, your faithful friend and obedient servant,

SHELBURNE.

To the Hon. Arthur Lee."

"LONDON, Jan. 26th, 1786.

Dear Sir,—Mr. Wirtley,* a gentleman of very respectable family connexions and character, is sent by the board appointed to investigate the claims of the loyalists to America. I am interested in regard to this board, as it was instituted while I was at the treasury ; and I must always feel very deeply so, in whatever regards the articles of the treaty, which it so much concerns the honour and future intercourse of both countries to have duly and faithfully executed. I have written by him both to Mr. Jay and Dr. Franklin, who must feel equally interested with myself, regarding the treaty on account of the part they

* The name in the original scarcely legible—probably it is Hartley.

had in concluding it ; and who can best remember all that passed on the subject of the loyalists. I take the liberty of recommending him to you as an old friend. From your love of justice, which I shall always remember, as well as your personal friendship, which I remember with equal satisfaction, I hope you will be kind enough to assist and advise him, in regard to the information he may want.

I am very glad of this opportunity of enquiring after your health. I make frequent enquiries about you and your brothers. I have been in expectation of your paying a visit to this country, where I shall always be exceedingly glad to see you, and show you every mark of regard in my power. I flatter myself that you will be glad to hear that my family go on well, with the exception of the loss of my second wife, a severe blow, a sense of which will accompany me to the grave. Lord Wycombe however gives me great comfort, and is likely to do his family and country credit in every respect; and I have a little son, who promises to be a quick, smart boy, and to be capable of application. As to myself I cannot complain, though I am older in health than in years.

I beg to add once more, that it would give me great pleasure to see you in this country again; and that you will find my house the same in all respects as you have always known it.

I am, with great esteem and regard, dear sir, your affectionate and humble servant,

LANSDOWN.*

Hon. Arthur Lee, United States of America."

* Lord Shelburne had succeeded his father as Marquis of Lansdown.

"LONDON, Feb. 4th, 1787.

Dear Sir,—Your nephew will tell you that it has not been my fault, that I have not seen more of him. He may depend on my attention and services. He will of course inform you of events here as they pass. But you know the causes of them far better than he can tell you, for the data continue exactly the same as you remember them. The character of the reign has suffered not the least variation; and though Lord Rockingham is no more, his party persevere exactly in the principles you remember, *fighting up*, as they called it, against the king and people, unconvinced by above twenty years' experience, of the impossibility of arriving at their end by such means; and still more so, of the unworthiness of that end, which you know too well, to make it necessary for me to dwell on the description. As to myself, I stand more single than ever; and the utmost to which I aspire is, by so much dint of character as the respective parties may leave me, or rather as consistency of conduct may procure me in spite of parties, and great moderation of conduct, to avert great calamities; or at least to blunt the edge of them, as far as I am able. I have no great virtue to boast of in adopting this line, for you are fully sensible that the reign is not disposed to delegate a regular course of power to any one, and I never had a passion for emolument.

While parties continue so much the same, the public no doubt, subject as it is to perpetual insensible motion, has suffered a considerable change; the amount and nature of which cannot be easily calculated. On the one hand, commerce, luxury, the perpetual changes of administration, the want of power in any, the uni-

versal relaxation of every part of the executive government, the general neglect of education, the bad examples of private life among public men of very high descriptions, have all done infinite mischief. On the other, the ill success of the war, the emancipation of Ireland, the necessity the court has found itself in of appealing to the people on a late occasion, the obligations they find themselves under of attending farther to the people to escape the claims of a faction, the bad examples I have mentioned, and the changes which carry their good as well as bad consequences with them, have made men feel and reason more than they used to do. And I think upon the whole the public may be said to have gained considerable; and if we have the good fortune, for it must be fortune, to avoid downright destructive measures, we shall have no reason to repent all that has passed.

To say that there is no Anti-American principle remaining amongst us, would be to deceive; and I have no doubt it will produce some acts of feverishness, and some things which had better be let alone; but I am convinced the principles of the peace will in the end, and that in the course of a very few years, make their way, and will I trust prove the foundation of a lasting and firm union with America, which will do honour to mankind. I need not say that by this I do not mean a legislative union; in truth, not so much an alliance, as a similarity of principle which may embrace all nations, and contribute to the happiness of all. I cannot express the happiness which reflecting on the peace gives me, and upon all the ills which have been prevented by the line being drawn in America; more especially when I consider that the papers which I then held in my possession, and which I still keep by me, prove beyond the possibility of contradiction, that there was nothing the French had more at heart than to effect an alliance which would have made

the peace more immediately popular, but would have sown the seeds of eternal variance, and made America more open to their active, intriguing spirit, than even Holland itself. I shall look upon my opposition to it as the most honourable circumstance of my life. It gives me very great satisfaction to hear within these few days, from authority which I am inclined to credit, that the present administration have been very fair in the instructions which they have given, particularly upon the chapter of Indians ; as I could not help feeling great uneasiness on the subject, as soon as I heard of any disturbance on the back of the United States.

If the French treaty is confirmed by parliament, the new principles must make a rapid progress, and the old ideas of monopoly in every quarter fall to the ground. If it is not, I still think the progress of them will be only retarded, and that in a few years the public must get possessed of them. It is a great misfortune to us that the same party, which you must so well remember, are in a habit of indiscriminate opposition, without regard to any principle, old or new, except the stale maxim of their party.

There is no news from the continent, where, by all I can collect, the emperor must carry all his points, sooner or later ; if his over activity does not defeat him I think nothing else can.

There are several letters from Paris just arrived, which speak of Madame ——'s disgrace as certain.

I shall always be very glad to hear from you, and shall pay great regard to your sentiments on all occasions.

Lord Wycombe is returned from abroad every thing we could wish him except a deafness, the remains of a scarlet fever, which we still hope he will overcome. Public speaking is a matter of such uncertainty that it is impossible to guess about him in that respect,

but in every other he is likely to act a very high and very honest public part.

I am with great truth and regard, dear sir, your affectionate humble servant,

LANSDOWN.

To Arthur Lee, Esq."

"BOW-WOOD PARK, July 6th, 1791.

My Dear Friend,—You will be surprised but not sorry I am sure to see your old acquaintance. I need not recommend him to your *care*, particularly as to his health, which is the point, indeed the only point I am anxious about, as every thing else will go well of course.

When shall we see you? If you do not come soon we shall be all gone. You will find an apartment in town and country ready to receive you as long as I live.

I am your sincere and faithful humble servant,
LANSDOWN.

To Arthur Lee, Esq."

LETTERS OF LAFAYETTE TO ARTHUR LEE.

"HAVRE, August 28th, 1779.

Had I not, my dear sir, waited for intelligence every day, a grateful return to your polite letter, would not have been so long delayed. But I was in hopes of making it more agreeable by the important news it should contain; and I do not give up in this manner the right of sending you before long, an interesting gazette.

There is not a minute, in the present circumstances, but which may acquaint us of such an event as will

be ranked among the greatest ones in the history of nations. By the last accounts from Mons. Romillies he was within sight of the British fleet, and determined to attack it, as soon as winds would permit him to come up with them. You know of the Ardent ship of the line being taken by our frigates. You have also been told eleven sail were gone into St. George's channel, and that Sir Charles's fleet was consisting of thirty-one ships of the line. On our part we are entirely ready, provisions and stores of every kind are on board, and we wait for nothing but intelligence from the admiral, and a proper convoy, to carry us on the coast of Great Britain.

I have the pleasure to inform you, my dear sir, that the noble present congress were pleased to add to so many favours and previous marks of their regard towards me, which was sent me by Dr. Franklin, and delivered by his grandson, that sword, I am proud to carry into the heart of England ; and I will ever consider it as a new bond, which increases the right of boasting of being considered one of the most zealous servants of the United States.

The little burning expedition in Virginia is pretty well accounted for by our present misfortunes ; and I heartily give you joy for the Carolinian intelligences, which I think are no more to be questioned.

Farewell, my dear sir. I hope you do not doubt but that it will always give me great pleasure to hear from you, and with the most sincere regard and truest affection I am yours,

LAFAYETTE.

The Hon. Arthur Lee, at Paris.

P. S.—They say that the lieutenant of the Ardent was so angry at seeing an English ship of the line surrendering to two frigates, that out of despair he has drowned himself.

L.”

"FORT SCHUYLER, Sept. 30th, 1784.

Gentlemen,—I have the honour to inform you that I arrived yesterday at this place, and although we had breakfasted at Mr. Shoemaker's, we arrived by land at the fort, a pretty long time before sun-set. Dr. Courtland's anxiety to see you well accommodated has made him advise you not to come here before the troops have made some arrangements; but I assure you, and in this the Dr. now agrees with me, that you will do as well here as any where else on the road; and as your baggage is partly arrived, and is getting in every hour, it appears that nothing can now detain you.

It seems to be Dr. Courtland's opinion that my little influence can in a good degree promote your purposes. The same observation having been made to me by Gen. Wolcot, I do not think myself at liberty to leave this part of the country before I have told the Indians what you may wish me to mention. But as the Dr. does not think it sufficient for me to speak to such Indians as are within call, I beg leave to represent that the twentieth having been appointed for me to be here, I have consequently made sundry arrangements. Gen. Washington's journey has been cramped on my account, and several other friends who are waiting for me at certain periods, will be disappointed by my delay.

I would say therefore, gentlemen, if by adopting Dr. Courtland's opinion, you could now send for those Indians and for others who are waiting for you at Oneida castle, it is probable you might then tell me, or send me (if you do not come) what you wish me to tell them on Saturday. And on Tuesday next, if there be no public reason for my attendance, I will beg your permission to set out for New-England.

I strongly advise you not to ride in the night along the road from the German flats to this place, as there are some bad places, which in the dark might be dangerous.

With every sentiment of respect I am waiting your orders, and have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

LAFAYETTE.

To the Commissioners to treat with the Indians."

LETTERS OF THE MARQUIS OF ROSIGNAN.

"BERLIN, Oct. 7th, 1777.

Sir,—Your favour of the 23d of July has given me much pleasure. I am much obliged to you for Mr. Franklin's reflections, of which as yet I took only a cursory view. As I suppose you visit him, I beg you would present my compliments to him if he still remembers me.

Since we parted I have been very unfortunate. I have neither taken the water nor the baths at _____ in Bohemia. I had to throw myself on a bed, being taken with a phlegmonous erysipelas ; on account of which I had to undergo an operation which has detained me until now. As I came to this place only in the beginning of this month, I hoped it would be all over when I arrived, but my legs are still in a bad way, and I do not yet go out. I will not pretend to give you news from America. You know that it is not from this place that you could get fresh news. I have judged at first sight that the taking of Ticonderoga was not a decisive advantage ; far from it ; the news-papers begin to speak of a check received by a

detachment of Gen. Burgoyne's near Fort Edward, and in some articles mention the evacuation of that fort by the Americans. The king is to dine here to-day, at his sister's, the Pr. Amelia; he is entirely recovered of the indisposition that made him put off his late review, which was very painful. If the invention of the telescope is good it will take. I will wait until it has made a little more noise, before I seek any information on the subject. As to the electrophons, I have had dreadful bad luck with them. I had made two, which at first gave a few weak sparks; but on the third day I could do nothing at all with them, although it is of German invention, as you say (or rather the Italian invention of Sir Alexander Volta d'Come, in 1775, which has had more success in Germany than elsewhere.) I have already had occasion to convince myself that the repeated experiments and prodigies of the same, have been extolled with some degree of quackery and without discretion. I will be much obliged to you to send me an exact description of the manner of constructing them, especially of the quality of the pitch which must be used, and put the Latin name, or rather of the compound which is said to be better than the pitch, if it is true they have found such. I must conclude, being in great hurry. Mr. and Mrs. Delagrange, to whom I have presented your compliments, send theirs. They are grateful for your kind remembrance, as also Mrs. Rosignan, who requested me to thank you.

I have seen last evening Mr. Sayre. I believed him far off; he will remain here about a fortnight.

Receiving the assurances of the sentiments, &c., I have the honour, &c.

Signed, SIGARD DE ROSIGNAN."

"BERLIN, Dec. 2d, 1777.

Sir,—I was sure you would sympathize with my sufferings. I am truly grateful to you. It is very certain that the distribution of good and evil in this lower world forms a very thorny question. I have kept my room for a month since my return. My wife has also been ill enough to cause me much uneasiness and sorrow. We are now tolerably well, but the season is unfavourable to the progress of our health.

They have here as elsewhere, spread the false news of which you speak. I never gave them any credit, as the source from which they proceeded, to me appeared suspicious. 'The funds have risen,' said they to me ; it is a good thermometer, I replied ; but it must last. Three days after other letters informed us that they had fallen again. I have seen in a newspaper that all this romance was attributed to one Fordyce Bang. I know none of that name but the one who in my time failed so notoriously at London. I am astonished at his returning there. He has, no doubt, found his account in this little skip of the funds, since it was his own working.

I have a bulletin from Paris, in which they tell me that Mr. Franklin has received news ; it is dated the same as your letter, therefore I take it to be one of those false rumours that abound. I have seen Mr. Sayre several times since my return. I have not been to his house, as I do not go out. I do not know where he took lodging ; it was no more at Cossiers. He had dined I think once or twice at my house. The last time I saw him he appeared disposed to start ; three or four days after I sent to his house, and he was gone.

I have quite lost Mr. Elliot's favour. I believe it is to you that I am indebted for this. If, however, after the poor adventure of the papers, I can call a loss that which is quite an advantage, I will always remember what you then told me. I could not then believe that it was he, and that it was possible that he not only ordered, but lent his aid in that manœuvre. I thank you for what you have taken the trouble to mention concerning the electrophons. I will have one constructed, and if it does not succeed, I will avail myself of your obliging offer. Will you spend the winter in Paris? When you have nothing better to do, give me news of yourself, because I feel an interest there; and I ask for those which now engross Europe, because I like to have them from the *philosopher*, in whom the spirit of party is a consequence of his reasoning not of enthusiasm. If one has the jaundice I consult him no more on colours, I know beforehand that he sees every thing yellow. Unfortunately moral jaundice is far more universal among our species than physical jaundice.

I remain, &c. &c.

SIGARD DE ROSIGNAN."

"CASAL, Feb. 28th, 1779.

Sir,—I am sorry to answer your favour of the 24th December only on the last of February. I have just received it, having written to Paris for it on the advice I received from the post office, that there was a letter addressed to me that was not forwarded because not freed. As by yours it seems that one of mine miscarried, I write this double. I send one to our ambassador, and the copy to the post office. You will oblige me by letting me know which of the two

may reach you first. I will thank you to give me the news concerning your affairs (such as can be communicated); those that we receive here are so absurd, that it is impossible to reckon on them, and I am so convinced of your candour and philosophy, that I feel certain that party spirit can have no influence on what you will say to me on the subject.

My health is improving. I have been so much indisposed all winter, that although the season was uncommonly fine, I could not enjoy it. My family affairs will occupy me for a few months longer.

With most sincere attachment, &c.

SIGARD DE ROSIGNAN."

" ST. MAURICE, July 15th, 1779.

Sir,—For a long time I have wished to hear from you, and of your country; but I have been so ill for better than nine months, that I consider myself happy to be now able to take up my pen. I will not enter into the tedious detail of my afflictions. I wish, more than hope, that the gout, which has affected my whole frame, may be the last of them. Here I am among the Grisons, where I drink the waters which formerly have been so beneficial to me. I find that they do me good. In a few days I will be at my home, where I promise myself the pleasure of hearing from you. I have seen with regret in your last, that you find at home more false brothers than you had anticipated, who take advantage of these very critical times to fish in troubled waters. It seems that all these contrarieties ought to be reserved for the last moments of a republic. True they carry within themselves these seeds at their very birth, but it is not the time when they should show themselves. If however the re-

public is yet weak in these first moments, there is more individual energy. It is the time when patriotism unfolds and displays all its strength. One may therefore hope, and even feel confident, that that which might be contagious at the decline of a republic, will meet with resistance where there are still generous minds. They will have courage to surmount all difficulties, and will learn how to prevent contrarieties, which prove salutary in such circumstances. Time will decide upon my conjectures.

Wishing you sir, a portion of health very different from mine, and which you may enjoy a longer time than I could, I remain, &c. &c.

SIGARD DE ROSIGNAN."

" CASAL, Oct. 3d, 1779.

Sir,—I received eight days ago yours dated 10th of August, and three days ago that of the 30th of April. The first has been kept back at Paris for want of being freed. I was advised of this by the post-master, and on my answer received it. The same thing had happened to your letter of 26th June; and if I am not mistaken I had mentioned it to you, that they might hereafter be freed at Paris, to avoid this inconvenience.

I am just now at my country seat. Mr. ——, the charge des affaires for France, has sent me this last letter; by which you introduce to me Mr. d' Adanson, with whom I desired much to be acquainted personally. I do not know whether he has delivered the letter himself, or sent it to the charge des affaires. I am going to write to Turin, to enquire if he intends to travel through Italy. My country seat is on the way. I will send to invite him (should he be at Tu-

rin) to journey a couple of hours from the main road. His reputation, and your recommendation, will make him a very welcome guest at my house.

In answer to yours of the 10th of August, I beg you to be convinced of the feeling sense I have of all your kindness, and the interest you express in my welfare. Since my letter written at St. Maurice, I have been unfortunate. I thought I was almost restored to health, when all at once I was seized again by that same gout in all my frame. At my return through these mountains, having to cross the lake, they went with difficulty on a bad horse, and had to carry me out of the boat at Come. I had with me some James' powders, that did wonders, and on the fourth day, although I felt badly enough, I could be placed in my gig to go home. Notwithstanding all this I cannot complain of the waters, as I am almost restored, and have partly recovered my strength, which had quite failed me when I went.

Your dear friend, that honest, worthy man, and above all, great politician and skilful negotiator, Elliot, has left Berlin. It is said he will not return; at least his colleagues so flatter themselves. The court does not care much, and is suspected to object to him.

I will not pretend to give you the news, which you get first handed, and which I expect from you in substance. The position of Great Britain is very precarious, although the formidable combined army has not struck the great blows which were expected.

I do not know if Mr. Dorvilliers deserves blame; but that excessive sensibility at the loss of his son, which is so much extolled in the newspapers, would do him more credit in a doleful drama; than at the head of an army, where the public interest calls for an admiral, and knows not what to do with a papa.

If Mr. Franklin still remembers me, present my compliments to him. I recollect him well, and also the regret I experienced when in London, at not being sufficiently acquainted with the English language to converse with him, and visit him oftener.

With the most perfect regard, I have the honour,
&c.

SIGARD DE ROSIGNAN."

"TURIN, Nov. 14th, 1779.

Sir,—Yours came to hand in due time. I would have answered it eight days sooner had my health allowed. I know nothing of the fleets but by public report; until now, they but poorly answer the expectation which those reports would fain have raised. The season besides is far advancing; and notwithstanding all the examples alleged to prove the contrary, I doubt much if they will be in time to do any thing. I was surprised to hear that they are looking for lodgings at Paris for the Count d' Estaing; if it is true, I do not see the reason. M. M. must be now at Paris, at least it is so believed; and he is expected here shortly, according to his appointment; no one ever knew that he was to pass through Spain. As to poor —, I believe as you say that it would be difficult for him to obtain the confidence of either party. He cuts such a poor figure, that he does not deserve even to be spoken of.

You tell me astonishing things! I was struck with amazement at reading them. Whatever may be my faith in your words, I cannot entirely give up the high opinion I had conceived of the judgment, penetration, and candour, which I always thought were qualities essentially inherent in the individual in ques-

tion, to whom I had desired you to present my compliments. I suspect some misunderstanding in all this. It is often the case. The wicked do more business than those that are honest, because they do not hesitate about the means ; and does it not happen that the most honest man, on account of that unfortunate propensity to evil of which the most upright is not exempt, and which he has to resist, suffers himself to be seduced or rather surprised by an unprincipled knave, even inferior in talents ? You cannot conceive how this afflicts me for you, and on account of the consequences that it may have. I hope I may not be mistaken in my conjectures, and that a day will come when this mystery will be unravelled.

I pity you to have fallen in such bad hands, as you say, at your arrival in the country where you are ; but we must have nothing to do with men, not to run such risks, and have very little knowledge of them to be astonished. True the just man cannot get accustomed to this ; he feels so differently from that species, unfortunately so common, that he can scarcely believe what he sees, and what has already happened to him one hundred times in the course of his life.

I will get the fourth volume of P——, and I will with pleasure look over the details you mention, and am much obliged to you. I wish my health may allow me to peruse it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

SIGARD DE ROSIGNAN.²²

LETTERS OF THE COUNT MOUSTEIR.

"COBLENTZ, April 23d, 1779.

Dear Sir,—The confidence I have, rather in your indulgence than in my skill, encourages me to try the chance of a letter wholly in English. I have been very sorry to learn that your health has been impaired. I hope you will by this time be entirely recovered. I wish that after the due attention being given to your health, you should be employed for the common good, and as soon as possible, as minister plenipotentiary, at a neighbouring court. The appointment of Dr. Franklin at ours shows evidently to the world the connexion formed between your country and mine. But to give it all its value and strength, it would require somewhat more than can be effected by plenipotentiaries, whose arguments and reasonings are always submitted to the events of war. You mention in your last letter that 61 is called; I would fain know whether at his own desire or not. I cannot form any judgment about his designed successor, knowing nothing of him but his face. I think it could not have been the work, if 60 could have filled that place. Whoever it be, I wish him full success, being entirely concerned for the welfare of both states, and a true friend to North America.

I wish some more important event than the conquest of Senegal, could happen in our favour. I am quite of your mind, as to the dispositions people should carry in contrary events. If such happen by one's own fault, they should serve as an advice to take other measures. If chance alone and ill luck bring them on, then fortitude and perseverance should be used, and I would always say, '*Tu ne cede malis,*

sed contra audentior ito? The efforts made against ill fortune have something noble, which makes them worthy of admiration, and sometimes they are crowned with success. I hope the depression of spirits which you mention *will have been* only of the spirits of vulgar men, whose nature it is to be too easily elevated or dejected.

The present year must bring forth events which will of course have a great influence on your revolution. Please God to consolidate so noble a work. Count d'Estaing's honour is more concerned than ever, to perform some striking action, though I do not look on the loss of St. Lucia as of great importance. I wish Pondicherry could be as easily recovered. I am sorry that England keeps a wing in the east, having so deservedly lost one in the west. Were the Indians men, as the North Americans are, they would use the same means to keep the Europeans within their own limits, out of which they should go as traders, not as conquerors.

I am far from having an intention ever to publish a history of the American revolution, but looking on that event as pregnant with matters of observation, and being desirous of enlarging as much as I can my knowledge concerning mankind, I think I cannot take a more proper aim in my present study than to examine all the measures which the several states of America have taken and still take for their welfare. I see that they come nearer to what can be wished to form a good government, than any other state ever before attained; but I am sorry to think that perfection is not to be arrived at in human institutions. Those are the happiest who come the nearest to it. The other states are justly alarmed at the constitution of Pennsylvania, if the foundation of tyranny is laid in it; for I think there are two ways to destroy North-American liberty; first, if one state

becomes boldly ambitious, and should be successful, which may happen, as in ancient times Lacedæmonia and Athens ruled successively over the other states of confederate Greece; secondly, if some ambitious men succeed in the project of subverting and subduing their own state, they may afterward subdue the others. Did not Cromwell, after having subverted and subdued England, subdue Scotland, Ireland, and your Virginia.* Notwithstanding all that, I think that your people can be, with your governments, the happiest people in the world; and this is the chief reason why I wish complete and speedy success to all your efforts to expel your enemies.

For my part, I wish all men in the world could be happy. They could be so in every government, even in the most despotic ones, if the rulers did unite virtue and knowledge, which are seldom to be found. I first study to make myself happy by all the means which I have, or rather to maintain myself so, for I think I am the happiest man in the world, and I thank God for it. Then I prepare myself to be able to contribute to others' happiness, if Providence would put me in a position where I could have some influence on their fate.

The undertaking of Madame Moustier has the greatest success for her and her son. I will endeavour on my side to show myself to him, as good a father as she is a good mother, by making my chief object his education, in order to make him an honest man and useful to society. The nurse thanks you for your attention to her, and sends her compliments to you.

* He is mistaken as to Virginia. She never yielded to, or acknowledged Cromwell's authority; but declared herself independent, and remained so until the restoration of Charles the Second, when she voluntarily acknowledged him. Hence Virginia obtained the appellation of the "Old Dominion." See Life of R. H. Lee, vol. i. p. 1.

Believe me, dear sir, with sincere esteem and affection, your most obedient humble servant,

LE C^{TE}. DE MOUSTEIR.

The Hon. Arthur Lee, at Paris."

" COBLENTZ, July 29th, 1779.

Dear Sir,—Being encouraged by your last letter, I will continue to write in English as long as you will not be tired of my correspondence. The long desired event of the joining of the Spaniards with us being now realised, I hope that you will soon fill the post to which you have so long been destined. Though I must regret to be by that event placed at a greater distance from you, I rejoice at the same time to see one employed, whom I think so able of acting well in every respect. I had already heard of the trouble Mr. Deane's return to America had occasioned; but I assure you, that had I not had previous notions of his character, and of that of his partner, the opinion I have of yours would have been sufficient to fix my judgment. I make no doubt but that at the end, the good cause will entirely prevail, notwithstanding the measures of your enemies. 28 has perhaps thought it expedient not to pronounce about the question, as long as 61 will stay in America; which will perhaps not be long, since I have heard his successor has departed. I don't wonder there are some ill-intentioned persons, who under the pretence of a private cause endeavour to attack the public welfare, because there are always in republics obnoxious men, who are ready to shake and even destroy it, led on by the wish to plunder it. But I have great hopes that your republic is now well established, though I cannot be convinced it will ever be entirely quiet. The senti-

ments you express towards your enemies, are worthy of a generous man, and a good patriot.

When I first wrote to you that I wished all men to be happy, I at the same time wished they should deserve it. I know very well that this wish is one of those which are not to be fulfilled.

I am certainly not in the secret about the measures our court takes towards your country, but I would venture to be a pledge that it never espoused the cause of Mr. D. It would be as much against its principles, as against its dignity.

I hope you will soon let me hear some agreeable news, as well relating to yourself, as the common cause.

Madame Moustoir presents her compliments to you. She is constantly employed in the office of a good mamma, who takes that care of her child that nature requires. I live happy in her society, and am very well satisfied to remain in my corner; where if I am not very busy, I am at least very quiet.

I have the honour to be sir, with the greatest esteem, your very obedient humble servant,

LE C^{TE}. DE MOUSTEIR.

To the Hon. Arthur Lee, Paris."

APPENDIX XI.

Extracts from the Journal of Arthur Lee, kept by him on his journey to treat with the North Western Indians, and during the progress of treating with their different tribes.*

1784

CARLISLE is in the county of Cumberland, and has been settled about thirty-two years. It has about one hundred and fifty good stone houses. There is here a very complete set of buildings for arsenals; raised at continental expense, but not used, and therefore going to ruin. Gen. Armstrong, Gen. Irwin, and Gen. Butler, reside here, and several other gentlemen, forming a good society; but they have neither coffee-house, post, nor newspapers. I saw here a proof how much marriage is governed by destiny. A very handsome and genteel young lady, who had a good fortune, was joined to a man twice her own age, with neither family nor fortune, personal nor mental accomplishments, to engage a lady's love.

The county of Cumberland is peopled almost entirely with Scotch and Irish, who have become rich

* The commencement of this journal has been lost. Mr. Lee set out from Philadelphia, and the extract begins with his arrival in Carlisle, Pennsylvania; now a flourishing town, in which is situated Dickinson College.

by farming; the land producing excellent wheat, which is their staple commodity.

Nov. 24th. We left Carlisle, and slept at Shippensburg; a handsome little town, about four miles from the Conedogwinit, on the north, and the Yellow Breeches Creek, which issues from a small but very deep lake, on the south, and runs into the Susquehannah. From thence the road led us the next day across the North Mountain, into what is called the Horse Valley, made by that and the next mountain, which we crossed into the Path Valley, through which runs the Conagocheague, which empties into the Potomack. We crossed next the Tuscarora Mountain, on the top of which the line runs, which divides the counties of Cumberland and Bedford; which latter we entered on descending the mountain, and lodged at Fort Lyttleton. These mountains are so steep, that it is necessary to walk up and down them. Fort Lyttleton was built by the British in a former war, as a protection to the frontier settlements; but the Indians murdered both soldiers and inhabitants. At that time it was not uncommon with these savages, to murder, scalp, and cut out the hearts of the people they found defenceless. A very heavy fall of snow during the night of the 25th, detained us at Fort Lyttleton until the 27th.

Sat - 27th. We crossed the mountain called Sideling Hill, and the Juniata, to Bedford. Nine miles before coming to this place we crossed Bloody Run, so called from the murder of several white people there by the Indians. Bedford is the capital of the county, and is a thriving little town on the Juniata, with good meadow grounds around it. There are yet traces of the redoubts thrown up here by the British, after Braddock's defeat. Gen. Forbes, who commanded next, having made this the rendezvous of the army in 1756.

28th. Leaving Bedford, we again crossed the Juniata, and traversed the Alleghany mountain to Stony Creek. On the road we saw the marks of a most tremendous whirlwind which happened last year, and had in its course torn up by the roots or twisted off every tree, however large. Numbers of the largest were laid down by each other, as if strewn by the whirlwind with as much ease as so many straws scattered by a light wind. The ascent of this mountain is very steep, but it is rendered easy by trailing it properly. On the top is a level of many miles, and through it runs the principal branch of the Juniata. It is loaded with chestnut and oak, very large. The snow was about one foot deep on the mountain; and yet the weather so mild, that I travelled without a great coat. The road, on the top of this mountain, and in descending it, and thence to Stony Creek, is miry and stony, and leads through a number of dismal swamps, that put one in mind of Milton's

'Fogs, bogs, fens, dens, and shades of death.'

From this and the preceding eminence you view the vast Appalachian Mountains, covered with snow. The ocean in a storm, with its billows and their white tops rising behind and above each other, resemble the various ridges of snow-capt hills which compose this immense chain.

On the 29th we traversed a part of the Alleghany, called Laurel Hill, from an abundance of what is called in Virginia ivy, growing upon it. On this mountain St. Jocelin was attacked and killed by the Indians; but his convoy was saved. On this mountain Capt. Bullet was attacked and put to flight by a party of Indians within two miles of Ligonier; and at another time the savages attacked the hospital, that was going from the fort, and massacred the sick. At night

we reached Fort Ligonier, built in 1756, by Gen. Forbes, as a station, in his progress against Fort du Quesne, now Fort Pitt. It was frequently attacked by the French and Indians, and many of its troops killed. A very good and capacious stockaded fort was raised there during the late war, as a defence against Indian incursions. But they massacred the inhabitants as far as Bedford, having passed the fort, through the woods and over the mountains.

On the 30th we crossed the Loyalhannon, the Chestnut Hill, or Mountain, to Hannah's town. This place and the neighbourhood felt the weight of the late war. The Indians under the command of refugees and white men, to the number of three hundred, beset the town, burnt all the houses not under the protection of the stockaded fort, and carried away about twenty prisoners. From this place to Fort Pitt the inhabitants were almost all driven off by the Indians. From this neighbourhood a considerable body under the command of Col. Lockyer went down the Ohio, to join Gen. Clarke, in his intended expedition against Detroit; but mistaking an Indian encampment on the Ohio for that of Clarke, they landed inadvertently, and were cut off almost to a man.

The 1st December brought us across Turtle Creek, through its rich bottoms, and the Bull-pen Swamp, to Mr. Elliot's; when ourselves, our servants, several wagoners, his wife, and eight children, and a young daughter, all undressed and went to bed on the floor together, in a miserable log-house. Next day, we proceeded six miles to Fort Pitt, where we found Gen. Clark. About a mile from the fort you fall in with the Alleghany River, which comes from the north-east, and joining the Monongahela from the south-west, forms the Ohio. On the very spot made

by this junction was Fort du Quesne, and on the bank of the Monongahela close to it is Fort Pitt.

Dec. 3d. The commissioners met, and received from Mr. Lowry answers from their messages, with strings of wampum, from the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandotts, and Twilightees, declaring their readiness to meet at Cayahoga. At the same time two traders had arrived from thence directly, and brought a message from several chiefs assembled there, dated Nov. 26th, informing the commissioners that they had attended at Cayahoga from the 20th, had brought with them their wives and children, and had nothing to eat. These traders said there might be near six hundred at or near Cayahoga. One of our messengers had been despatched thither with beef and flour, immediately on the receipt of my letter from Sunbury.

(The proceedings of the commissioners at Fort Pitt, from the 3d to the 10th are omitted.)

On the 10th Dec. we attempted a jaunt up the Alleghany River in a boat; but when we had rowed about six miles against its current, which is exceedingly strong, a violent snow-storm sent us back. Some of us landed on the north side, and hunted along the River, but found no game. The land upon the river is exceedingly rich, but narrow, the high lands being within two or three hundred yards of the banks. And indeed this strip of rich bottom, producing black walnut, locust, and sugar maple in abundance, seems to have been made by the gradual encroachment of the river on the southern bank, and consequent recess from its northern bed. About five miles up you come to what is called Kiosolos Bottom, from having been formerly the residence of an Indian chief of that name. He has removed to the Seneca country near the Niagara. This Kiosolos was a very provident Indian, not only in fixing his seat in this most fertile valley, but in having two wives, (I mean

as a savage) one well stricken in years, who paid great attention to his food and his clothes; the other a handsome young squaw, who served the *special* purpose for which Abraham took Hagar, and Isaac Rebbecca; so orthodox divines with great gravity instruct us, and inculcate upon the minds of all whom they join together in holy wedlock. Kiosolos Bottom is a rich and beautiful spot. We saw wild hops there, growing in the utmost luxuriance, and of a fine flavour.

11th. We received an Indian express from Mr. Lowry, dated at Cayahoga, and informing us that the Indians had come as far as Cuscuskis within thirty miles of Mackintosh, but that they were unwilling to come further, because of their wives and children. On the 12th I was seized with a smart fever, which confined me to my bed for two days, but it was subdued by copious bleeding and fasting. If exercise, temperance, and change could have ensured me health, I might have expected it. But I experienced the truth of Dr. Young's observation, that

' Disease invades the chaste temperance,
And punishment the guiltless,—and alarm
Through thickest shades, pursues the fond of peace.'

The following epistle from our chief messenger, a member of the assembly of Pennsylvania, is too singular in its orthography not to receive a place in my Journal.

"Honaabl Comminishers of Indines affers at Mackentoy's or Fort Pitt.

Genteel,—Wensday, at 2 a clot this minit met ex-prest from Mr. John Booggs, who writes me that the

Indines hays agreed to com and meet the comminshers at Cuscorgas (meaning Cuscuskis) in order to treat, but will not agree to go to Mackintosoh for the resins within his letter mouchant. I have sent you Mr. Boggs is letter, and have ordered six loud of flower fored, and shall perseed till I meet the Indines and will assist Taweys, Pawoys, Towompieys, (meaning the Ottawas, Chipewas, and Potawattamies) as well as can; nothing in my power shall be wanting to fullfill wishes of the Commishnors."

All from your humbel sarvant."

17th. We embarked on the Monongahela, and soon entered the Ohio, on our way to Fort McIntosh. The Ohio is a continuation of the Monongahela and the Alleghany. They enter it at right angles. This appears plainly when you have passed the mouth of the Alleghany. Upon looking back you see at some distance, directly up the Monongahela, but the point of the two banks only that form the mouth of the Alleghany is visible, none of its water. Yet it has often been said that the Ohio was a continuation of the Alleghany.

Four miles down the river brings you to Montour's Island; which is six miles long, and about half a mile broad on an average, and contains about two thousand acres of very good land, the greater part of it never overflowed. The assembly of Pennsylvania gave Gen. Irwin a right of pre-emption to this island. They were moved to do it by an old and influential presbyterian member, who with great gravity assured them he knew the island, and that it contained about one hundred and fifty acres. The property of it is contested between Gen. Irwin, Col. Neville, and Col. Sim of Alexandria. The next place is Loggstown, which was formerly a settlement on both sides of the

Ohio, and the place where the treaty of Lancaster was confirmed by the western Indians. From Loggstown to the mouth of Beaver Creek, is — miles, and from thence to Fort McIntosh, one mile. This fort is built of well-hewn logs, with four bastions; its figure an irregular square, the face to the river being longer than the side to the land. It is about equal to a square of fifty yards, is well built, and strong against musketry; but the opposite side of the river commands it entirely, and a single piece of artillery from thence would reduce it. This fort was built by us during the war, and is not therefore noted in Hutchins' map. The place was formerly a large Indian settlement, and French trading place. There are peach trees still remaining. It is a beautiful plain, extending about two miles along the river, and one to the hills; surrounded on the east by Beaver Creek, and on the west by a small run, which meanders through a most excellent piece of meadow ground, full of shellbark-hickory, black-walnut, and oak. About one mile and a half up the Beaver Creek, there enters a small, but perennial stream, very fit for a mill-seat; so that the possession of the land from there to the western stream, would include a fine meadow, a mill-seat, a beautiful plain for small grain, and rich, well-timbered uplands. It falls just within the western boundary of Pennsylvania; and is reserved by the state out of the sale of the land, as a precious morsel for some favourite of the legislature. The Ohio here is about four hundred yards wide. The Monongaheila at Fort Pitt is about two hundred and eighty wide. The Alleghany, about two hundred. The former frequently overflows, and falls much sooner than the latter, owing to its rapidity and extent. The banks of the Monongahela on the west, or opposite side to Pittsburgh, are steep close to the water, and about two hundred yards high. About a third of the way from

the top is a vein of coal, above one of the rocks. The coal is burnt in the town, and considered very good. The property of this and of the town is in the Penns. They have lotted out the face of the hill at thirty pounds a lot, to dig coal as far in as the perpendicular falling from the summit of the bank. Fort Pitt is regularly built, cost the crown £600, and is commanded by cannon from the opposite bank of the Monongahela, and from a hill above the town called Grant's Hill, from the catastrophe which befel Gen. Grant at that place. He was advancing with some Highland regiments and Virginia light-infantry before the army under Gen. Forbes, took his station upon this hill, and had the folly to order his drums to beat and his bagpipes to play, in expectation of frightening the French and Indian garrison of the then Fort Du Quesne, to surrender. But the commandant sending a part of the Indians in his rear, sallied out upon him, killed all the Highlanders, and made *him* prisoner. The Virginia troops, under Col. Lewis, being more upon their guard, mostly escaped.

Pittsburg is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log-houses, and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland, or even Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on; the goods being brought at the vast expense of forty-five shillings per cwt., from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take in the shops, money, wheat, flour, and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel; so that they are likely to be damned, without *the benefit of clergy*. The rivers encroach fast on the town; and to such a degree, that, as a gentleman told me, the Alleghany had within thirty years of *his* memory, carried away one hundred yards. The place, *I believe*, will never be very considerable. Batteaux pass daily, with whole families, stock, and

furniture, for Kentucky. Those from Virginia take boat at Wheeling, which is situated on the Ohio, about ninety miles below Pittsburg, and thereby avoid all the shoal water.

Mackintosh is thirty-one miles down the river. About nine miles before you reach it, is a small island and a rift, on which loaded batteaux often get aground, especially if they attempt the southern shore; but the opposite side has generally water enough.

On the 19th Mr. Lowry came in, with John Montour and another Indian, who gave us reason to expect the Indians in a few days. Reflecting on what would be the best method to secure the country we obtain from the Indians from being surveyed by the swarms of irregular settlers, it seemed to me that this purpose would be answered, by inserting in the treaty an article in these words:—‘If any person shall attempt to survey or settle on any of the said lands, until the commissioners shall have informed the Indians that permission is given by congress to such surveyors, or settlements, such person shall be out of the protection of the United States, and the Indians may drive them away.’ This prohibition being made public in a proclamation by the commissioners, would deter persons from attempting settlements, till congress shall have formed such regulations, as will at the same time secure a reasonable profit to the public, and settle the country systematically and peacefully. For these purposes I shall propose this article to my colleagues.

Snow began this evening, and continued all the next day and night, with freezing. The river was floating ice.

22d. We despatched a person to Cuscuskis with some rum, lead, and twenty-five pounds of powder, for the Indians. I had my doubts about the propriety

of sending them so much powder; for there are about twenty-five hundred charges for a rifle in that quantity. On this subject of gunpowder I must observe that, as there was a great quantity in the public stores at Fort Pitt, the commissioners to save the expense of carriage, ordered what they required for the treaty to be furnished out of this store. But when their store-keeper came to examine it, he reported that it was all spoiled. Upon enquiry we found, that though there was a lieutenant and twenty-five men kept there as a garrison, on full pay and expenses, yet no care was taken of them. The commanding officer alleged, that it was the business of the garrison to guard the stores only, and not to keep them from spoiling; as if there was any advantage in guarding stores that were good for nothing. The expense to the public of this garrison is as follows; which is not only thrown away, but the commandant, though he will not take care of the stores, thinks he has a right to use them for himself and garrison as he pleases.

Estimate.

25 non-commissioned and privates, at 50s. per month,	£62 10s.
Lieutenant-commandant,	10
Subsistence,	3
Rations for the whole,	67 10
Sergeants' and corporals' extra pay,	8
	<hr/>
	151

Multiplied by 12 months, per annum,	1812
Clothing and arms, at £6 per man,	150

The annual expense of this garrison, £1962

That at West Point consists of fifty men, commanded by a major; and the annual expense may be

at least two thousand pounds. These have been kept up for two years with equal inutility ; and have been a loss, independent of the stores they have consumed, of £5924. Much the same report of the condition of the stores at West Point, was made to us by those that we ordered to furnish them from thence for the western treaty. The persons to whom public stores are committed, give no security for the safe keeping and return of them, and do not hold themselves responsible for the same ; but consume at pleasure, and let the rest perish. This would not be the case if they were obliged to give security for the safe return of what they took in charge. The same fate, for the same reason, attends the public stores in Philadelphia, under the care of Mr. S., and under the immediate eye of Mr. M. Gen. Butler, Mr. Montgomery, and Capt. Butler, our storekeepers, assured me, that bales of cloth, blanketing, &c., were so rotted, as to be, as it were, glued down to the floor ; having never been moved, and nothing been laid between them and the damp floor. While the public stores are thus rotting, at a great loss, in the public magazines, we found the heads of departments laying out public money, to furnish the soldiers with those very articles. Soon after Gen. Butler had given me the above information, Col. Harmar, who commanded the troops that were equipping for the treaty, came in ; and upon my asking him if the troops were provided with what was necessary, he said no, not even with blankets. The clothier-general, upon being applied to, had informed him that they must be purchased. We told him there were thousands rotting in the public store, and directed him to go there immediately and furnish his corps, which he did. But though there was a sloop freighted at Philadelphia to carry the stores for the treaty to West Point, and then to take in the New-Jersey troops, instead of sending blankets for them out of the

public store, they were purchased at New-York, and sent for the troops to West Point. The reason of all this is, that there is a profit in purchasing, and none in issuing out of the public stores.

24th. Mr. Lowry informed us that the western Indians were both discontented and angry with the Six Nations, for having made a treaty with us without consulting them. This was the object of the general confederation which they mentioned, at Fort Stanwix ; and these Indians charge the Six Nations with a breach of faith, plighted in this confederacy. It is certain this was the wish of the Six Nations, and the intent of their speech ; but the decided language we held obliged them to an immediate determination, which bids fair to prostrate their confederation, and its diabolical objects.

I omitted to mention that while we were at Fort Pitt, being informed that a large quantity of gunpowder was gone down the Mississippi to be sold to the western Indians, the commissioners by my advice wrote to the magistrates at the falls, to seize and store the powder, and all ammunition destined for the Indians, till we had concluded peace with them, and permitted the trade.

Being this day indisposed, and obliged to keep my room, I could not avoid meditating on my future prospects. Should I settle and remain among my friends in Virginia ; should I retire to Kentucky ; or return to England, and enjoy in retirement there, all that a country great in arts and sciences affords.

I entered life glowing with sentiments of liberty and virtue. The seeds of the American revolution were then sowing, in the acts of parliament for imposing taxes on the colonies. I embraced the opposition with a double degree of enthusiasm, which the love of liberty and my country inspired. I devoted

myself to the *cause* from its very infancy. From that time my life has been a continued scene of agitation and commotion. No calm has composed, no repose has refreshed me.

To live in Virginia without a wife, is hardly practicable. But in Virginia boys and girls only marry, and they marry from almost every motive but love. A man, at thirty, a woman, at twenty, is old in Virginia; and with my sentiments of love and marriage, I am not likely to find a wife there.

* * * * *

Shall I retire to Kentucky, and try my fortune in a young country and a rising region. The soil and climate are fine. I have lands there, which would become valuable by residence; and it would be easy, with a little money, to acquire a princely territorial property. Ambition and avarice seem therefore to join in their invitation. But after the scenes through which I have passed, such an ambition seems *low*; and the avarice, without an incentive. For whom should I sacrifice present enjoyment, to secure a future fortune? He who pursues ambition in that country, must expect no repose. He must first agitate its *separation* and *independence*, then control the various turbulent spirits which are gathered there from different states; he must court those whose lives and manners are little removed from those of savages. He must be in perpetual action; as nothing else can promote his purposes, or even prevent him from repining at the loss of every thing that can engage the cultivated mind, or gratify the senses. He must submit to the wretched accommodations, which an almost savage country can afford; and not only be content without the luxuries, but even without the necessaries of life. What is there then, that can tempt a sober man, in my situation, to Kentucky?

A single man intent upon gratifying his taste, might accomplish this purpose with great certainty, and at a moderate expense, in London. Secure of £600 a year, he might live in a style perfectly genteel, and see and hear every thing worth seeing and hearing. But then he must live for himself only. He must forget that he has relations in another land, *near and dear*, whom he has sacrificed forever. All the charities of blood and country must be forgotten. His hours of retirement must be sad and solitary. Should ill health overtake him, he will not only be cut off from the enjoyments he promised himself, but he must expect no tender hand to sooth his pillow, no sympathising soul to mitigate with nameless gentle offices the anguish of disease, and minister to the troubled and desponding mind. And why indeed should he, who lives for himself only, expect that society will feel for him, or furnish him with aid or solace, beyond the influence of his money?

Those, too, with whom I was immediately connected in friendship and in politics, when a fellow-subject, would regard me now with cold indifference, if not with aversion. Many would consider me as having contributed to wound and dishonour that country, which is the dearest object to every good Englishman. Could I be restored to the situation that I enjoyed before the revolution, unless the tumult of political commotion may have unparadised it, I might be happy. That is as happy as man without domestic cares, domestic anxiety, and domestic love, could be.

I was placed in chambers in the temple, which looked into a delightful little garden on the Thames, of which I had the key; I could go in and out at all hours, and have what company I pleased, without being questioned or overlooked.

I was near the Royal Society, of which I was a fellow, where, every week, whatever was new and ingenious in literature was communicated. Not far from me was the hall of the Society of Arts and Agriculture, of which I was an honorary member ; and where I had access to all the new discoveries in arts, agriculture, and mechanics.

The play houses and the opera were equally convenient, where I could select the opportunity of seeing the best tragedies and comedies represented, and of hearing the most exquisite Italian music. I was a subscriber to Bach's and Abel's concert, where the most masterly performers in the world (Bach, Abel, Fishar, Tassot, Ponto, and Crosdal,) played to a most polite and fashionable audience, in one of the most elegant concert rooms in the world. In the field of polities, from the politician in the cider-cellars to the peer in his palace, I had access and influence. At the Bill of Rights, the city of London, the East India house, and with the opposition in both houses, I was of some consideration. Among my particular friends, to whom I always had access, were Lord Shelburne, Mr. Downing, Col. Barré, Mr. Wilkes, Serjeant Glynn, and several others. I was so well with several of the nobility and gentry that I could spend all my leisure time at their country seats. At Bath I had a very extensive acquaintance ; and there is not in the world a more agreeable place to one so circumstanced. As one of the law, I enjoyed the protection and distinction of that body, with the prospect of rising to place and profit, which all of that body, who have even moderate abilities, enjoy. So circumstanced, nothing but the peculiar and extraordinary crisis of the times prevented me from being entirely happy, and pursuing the fortune which sat with golden plumes within my reach. But every thing was absorbed in the great contest which I saw fast

approaching ; and which soon called upon me to quit London, and take an open part in the revolution, as a representative of the United States at the court of France.

To resume this situation is now impracticable ; and even were it practicable it would be ineligible. What would be the comment on my conduct, if, after having hazarded every thing to establish republican liberty, I should quit it and prefer to live under a monarch. This would be bearing a most humiliating testimony against the cause by my own conduct ; pride alone should withhold me from such an indignity.

What then remains for me but to take the world as I find it—to remain in the midst of this odd chapter of accidents—to take the poet's advice—

rape horam
Quam minime credula posterō.

In truth we refine too much in estimating human prospects, and human happiness. We expect too much, we look too far, as Dr. Young has strongly said,

“ Where is to-morrow ? In another world !
To numbers this is certain—the reverse
Is sure to none—and yet on this perhaps,
This peradventure, infamous for lies,
We build our mountain hopes—spin out eternal schemes,
As if we the fatal sisters would outspin—
And big with life’s futurities—expire.

25th. Mr. Evans, agent, and the Pennsylvania commissioners arrived. The boat in which they embarked with stores having run aground, and being nearly overwhelmed with ice, they and the crew almost frozen to death, before the ice became hard enough to bear them, got on shore, landed the goods, and brought them forward on pack-horses.

28th. Some of the officers getting merry late at night, ordered the artillery company to draw out the cannon, and fire them in the midst of the garrison. One of them was accordingly fired. The commanding officer immediately ordered the whole garrison under arms, and the artillery officer to countermand the firing; he refused, upon which the other ordered him under arrest. The next officer in command of the artillery, walking aside, told the men to do as they thought proper; they hesitated to obey the commanding officer, and he ran his sword through one of them. This soon produced a withdrawal of the artillery. In the mean time the troops were all under arms, and drunken officers at the head of their companies, were giving contrary orders, swearing at and confounding the men. Upon this Gen. Butler and myself sent for Maj. T—— the commanding officer, Col. Harmar, being at Fort Pitt, and directed him to order the garrison immediately to their quarters; which being done the tumult subsided.

The snow and frost continued very severe. I here experienced how much habit adds to our necessities. I had five blankets (Indian ones I mean) of which I gave one to my servant, who complained of having nothing to cover him. With this one he slept perfectly contented, while I could hardly keep myself warm with the other four. He had laid down in his clothes, rolling himself up in the blanket, while I stript myself according to custom, and the room being accessible to the four winds of heaven, it was no easy matter to recover the warmth which was lost in uncasing.

27th. Mr. Boggs, another of our Indian messengers, arrived and reported that the Indians were on their way, and that some of them would be in the next day.

28th. Several Indians arrived. Orders were issued by the commissioners against selling or giving them rum. Mr. Boggs was directed to make a return day by day of the number present from the different tribes to Mr. Lowry, who was directed to order them provisions, agreeably to that return. This was done not only that they might be duly supplied with provisions, but that we might have a check upon the commissary.

This day Col. Harmar returned, and with him came Cols. Atlee and Johnston. They brought a melancholy report of Mr. Ohara the contractor, who had embarked with a load of flour, and been frozen up, himself and the crew frost-bitten, so that it was apprehended one of the soldiers must lose his legs.

So far back as the 3d the commissioners had directed the following orders to be sent Mr. Ohara : That Capt. Ohara be directed to remove the troops, stores, and provisions, &c. for the treaty at Fort Mc-Intosh as speedily as possible ; yet by some unaccountable neglect, most of the stores and provisions were delayed till bad weather, and then sent with much risk and additional expense.

An increased portion of their *divinity* was ordered for the Indians. Had Mr. Pope seen these savages they could not have inspired him with those beautiful lines in his *Essay on Man* :

“ Lo the poor Indian ! whose untutored mind,
Sees God in clouds, and hears him in the wind ;
His soul proud science never taught to stray,
Far as the solar walk, or milky way,
Yet simpler nature to his hopes hath given,
Behind the cloud-topp’d hill an humbler heaven,
Some safer world, in depth of woods embraced,
Some happier island in the watery waste,
Where slaves once more their native land beheld ;
No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold.
To be content ’s his natural desire,
He asks no angel’s wing, no seraph’s fire ;
But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company.”

Mr. Pope is speaking of the South-American ; but our Indians have got the idea that this is an island, and have certainly made a most manful resistance to every impression to the contrary ; but as to another world, they do not appear to have any idea of it ; nor do I believe that one coming from the dead to tell them that there was a place of happiness without rum, would gain any credit.

29th. Some chiefs of the Chippeways and Ottowas only have arrived. They came this morning, requesting some spirits, two kettles, a tent, a blanket for an old man, some powder and lead for their young men to hunt with, and some paint. The commissioners ordered them some spirits, a blanket, the kettles, paint, and ammunition. The tent was refused, because every tribe would have expected the same ; and as they never return what they once get into their hands, it would be too expensive.

We were amused with the comments on the disturbance in the garrison, of the gentleman whose letter I have copied, and who takes the same liberties with the English language in speaking, as in writing. He said he never in his life saw such a rumpiss ; that they were all running hurry-scurry, and when their bagnits were all fixtured, they glomed so in the moon, as to pister one to death.

I am told that near the lower Shawnee town, on the Sciota, are the visible remains of a grand fortification. It consists of an oblong containing about — acres, enclosed by a rampart of clay fifteen feet high. It has eight gates ; one at each angle, and one at the centre of each side. One of them is much larger than the rest, and opens into a trench, which leads into another that surrounds the fort, containing about eleven or twelve acres. From the top of the rampart to the bottom of the trench, is about fifteen feet ; but it is much fallen, and filled up. The large timber

growing upon it, shows it to be of great antiquity. The Indians have no tradition about it; no more than they have of the vast animal whose bones are dug up in this western country, but whose species is extinct.

There are several of these fortifications on both sides of the Ohio. By whom they were raised is inconceivable. The appearance of the works indicates great antiquity, and the total silence of Indian tradition concerning them, confirms it. They must have been formed by a people far more wise and powerful than the Indians. But how such a people became so totally extinct, as to leave not a wreck nor remembrance behind, is inexplicable.

Indians have some modes of punishment and restraint, which fall wholly upon the poor women. If a woman lie often, or is caught in a theft, a person is sent to cut off a club of her hair, which is the greatest shame she can suffer. But for a man-thief there is no punishment. When a women is taken in labour, she is obliged to quit her husband's tent, and retire at a distance from the rest. There she is to build her own hut, and cook her own victuals, that are sent by a child and laid down near her hut, which no one is allowed to approach. If the pains are such as to compel her to cry, it only excites the mirth and ridicule of the men. I should not have credited this account, if I had not received it from sundry persons of veracity, who have been among them, and witnessed this more than diabolical apathy. That a situation which should call forth every tender feeling of the human heart, should be made one of neglect, contempt, and reprobation, is hardly to be believed; but that it should excite reproachful mirth, exceeds every thing yet known of savage inhumanity. Ten days after the birth of the child, the mother is permitted to

return to her husband's hut, where she lies for thirty-five days on the opposite side of the fire ; at the end of which period they unite blankets, if he chooses. Such is the absurd, the unfeeling, the cruel mode of treating females, in a situation, of all others, the most tender, the most interesting, and the most important, among these wretches, who have the form, but not the feelings of human beings. With similar absurdity, when a woman is in the situation in which Laban's daughter pretended to be, when she concealed his stolen goods, she is obliged to leave society, and keep entirely by herself till the period is over ; then she is to purify her person and her clothes, before she is permitted to return. But this is not the only people that have monstrously absurd opinions and customs relating to this operation of nature in the female system, which is as simple and as innoxious as any other in either sex. Happily these cruelties and absurdities are done away with among us, and in most parts of Europe. And however it may please some to rail against the vices of the present, compared with those of former ages, I affirm that society becomes more virtuous, as it becomes more enlightened ; and that it is far more enlightened now, than it has been in any past time. Let any one read the histories of former times and nations, from the bible downward, and then candidly declare whether the vices and the follies of the present time, are half so monstrous or multiplied as those of any other period. In our females especially I will venture to say, there is more intelligence, more refinement of thought, more delicacy of sentiment, and more chastity of feeling, than former times can boast. Our maids have modesty, our matrons, pride ; which are sure preservatives of female virtue. Be-

fore Calista could be sacrificed to Lothario, Rowe tells us,

—“Fierceness and pride—
The guardians of her honour—
Were lulled to rest.”

What was fierceness in her, in milder maids was modesty.*

* The residue of this journal of Mr. Lee, has been lost.

THE END.



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